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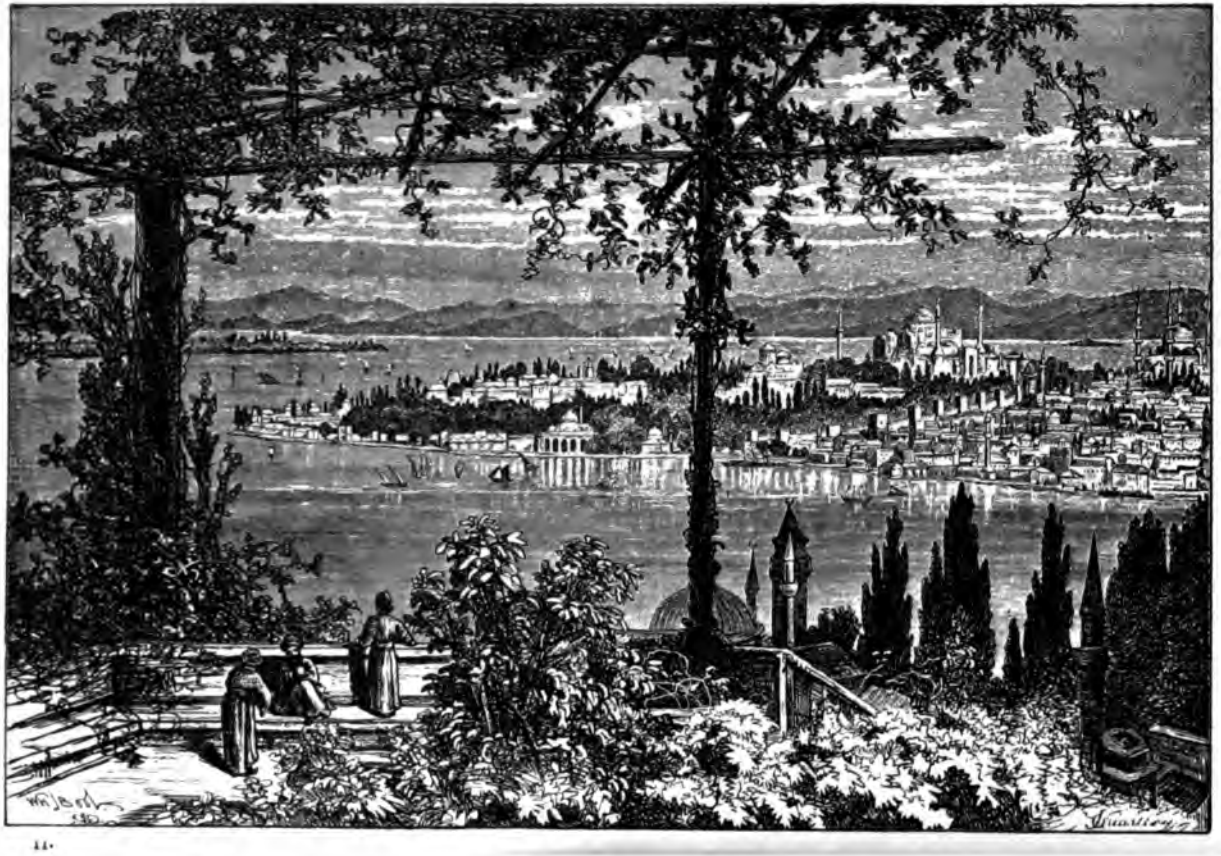

TURKEY OLD AND NEW.

TURKEY OLD AND NEW:

Historical, Geographical and Statistical.

BY

SUTHERLAND MENZIES,

AUTHOR OF "ROYAL FAVOURITES," "POLITICAL WOMEN," "HISTORY OF FRANCE," "HISTORY OF GERMANY."

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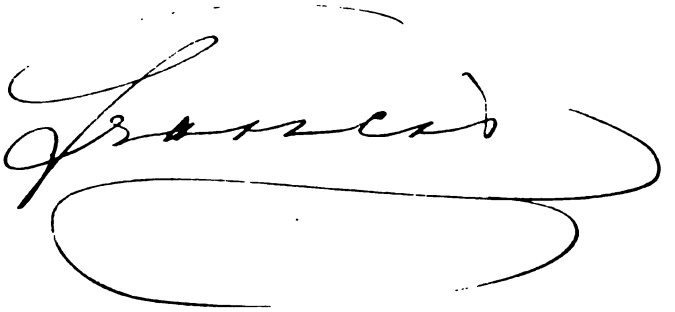

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FROM THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ TO THE PEACE OF JASSY (1699–1792).

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ TO THE PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ (1699–1718).

1. *Administration of Kupruli Hussein.—Deposition of Mustapha II.*

In the new situation which the Peace of Carlowitz had placed the Ottoman Empire, Kupruli Hussein, surnamed *the Wise*, comprehended the necessity of reforms, and followed, with regard to the Christian subjects, the example of Kupruli *the Virtuous*. Immediately after the signature of the Peace of Carlowitz, he granted to the inhabitants of Servia and the Banat exemption from the capitation tax for the current year; in Roumelia, he forgave the rayahs a million and a half of contributions in arrears; in Syria, he gave them freedom of pasturage for their flocks.

His attention was not confined to the Christians. At the same time that he strove to recall faithful Mussulmans to the study and practice of their religion, whilst respecting the rights of the Christians, the Grand Vizier re-established order in the finances, revised the muster-

rolls of the Janissaries, provided for the equipment of the navy, and undertook, sometimes at his own expense, sometimes at the cost of the State, great works of public utility: canals, bridges, aqueducts, mosques, schools, markets, barracks, &c.; the strongholds of Belgrade, Temesvar, and Nissa were also put into a good state of defence. Kupruli Hussein was a generous and magnanimous man, a great politician, and a friend of learned men; he was prematurely lost to the Empire. Revolts which were quickly suppressed, in Arabia, Egypt, and the Crimea, having troubled the end of his administration, he succumbed under the intrigues of the mufti, was deposed from power, and died a few days after his disgrace (Sept. 1702).

After the death of Kupruli, the disorders recommenced. His successor, Dallaban Pacha, a brutal and ferocious Serb, attempting to violate the treaty of Carlowitz, was strangled. The next Grand Vizier, Nami, a partisan of peace, endeavoured to finish the work of Kupruli; but he displeased the ulema and the Janissaries; an insurrection broke out; the troops sent to repress it fraternised with the rebels. The Sultan Mustapha II. was deposed, and ceded the throne to his brother Achmet III. (1703).

2. *Achmet III.—Diminution of French influence.—Commencement of Russian pretensions.—Charles XII. at Bender.*

The reign of Achmet III. (1703-1730) may be divided into two periods. During the first (1703-18), power passed from hand to hand; the Grand Viziers succeeded each other with deplorable rapidity; the Ottoman Empire, after a few years of repose, became engaged in a series of quarrels with Russia, Venice, and Austria. The second is wholly occupied with the ministry of Ibrahim, which also gave employment to the military activity of the Turks, but which turns to the side of Persia, and seeks for enemies more easy to conquer than the Christians.

Since the treaty of Carlowitz, the party of peace had

prevailed in the Divan. When Louis XIV. began the great struggle of the Spanish succession, he gave orders to Feriol to demonstrate to the Porte that the opportunity was decisive for avenging itself for its past defeats, and for resuming its old position; that Spain and Italy having fallen to the house of Bourbon, doubled the advantages and resources of the French alliance; that there was nothing to fear from the renewal of the Holy League of 1685, for the Venetians and Poles desired to remain neutral; finally, it was only required of the Turks that they should enter Hungary, which was still in revolt, and allow the Tartar Khan to attack the Russians. But the sanguinary troubles which marked the close of the reign of Mustapha II. rendered all negotiation at first impossible, and, when they were appeased, the Sultan Achmet, immersed in the pleasures of the Seraglio, obstinately refused to mix himself up in a war in which he saw that the only profit to be derived from it by the Turks was by allowing the infidels to slaughter one another. When France experienced reverses, she renewed her solicitations by pointing out to the Divan the danger and disgrace of its absurd repose. It was altogether useless: the bad success attending the French arms proved injurious to her representations, and the overtures of her ambassador were thwarted victoriously by the intrigues and money of England and Holland.

The result of the neutrality of the Porte was at first that France, constrained to distribute widely her maritime forces for the defence of the numerous possessions of Spain, lost her sway over the Mediterranean, where she allowed England to establish herself, and consequently saw her influence in the East shaken; afterwards that Turkey, already divested at Carlowitz of the pristine terror her arms inspired, continued to lose in peace her political importance; lastly, that, during that kind of suspension of the Turko-French alliance, Russia profited by the war of the Spanish succession, in which all the Western Powers were engaged, to follow up her projects of conquest over the Ottoman Empire.

The Greek Church, so fatal to Europe and to civilization, had in its extreme decrepitude given birth to a last and pitiful abortion of the siege of Byzantium, the Russian Church, which scarcely received in birth a feeble breath of evangelical life, and which never availed itself thereof save in the political interests of the temporal power which kept it in servitude. Its pretension, from the most remote times, was to reunite to her all the nations which held her creed; therefore, of inheriting the religious power of Constantinople, and of re-establishing the Eastern Empire to the profit of the Czars of Moscow. Peter the Great possessed as yet only a barbarian State, without ports, armies, or finances; he had before him Sweden, Poland, Turkey, which interdicted from Russia a European existence; in fine, he did not yet hold an inch of ground upon the shores of the Black Sea. He was already intriguing throughout Greece, stirring up the peoples of Slav race, opposing secretly the influence of France over the Oriental Christians, and undermining the Ottoman Empire. Thus the Greeks, who had preserved in slavery all their hatred of the Latins, turned themselves hopefully towards the barbarians of the North, whom they regarded thenceforward as their liberators, from whom they received secret presents, and whose agents they welcomed. "The Greeks," says the English historian, Rycaut, who wrote in 1670, "hold the Muscovite in great consideration, and have more friendship for him than for the other Christian princes; they commonly call him their Emperor and protector; and, according to all their prophecies, ancient and modern, he is destined to be the restorer of their church and of their freedom." "They flatter themselves," says Tournefort, who travelled in the Archipelago in 1700, "that the Grand Duke of Muscovy will some day extricate them from the misery in which they now are, and that he will destroy the Empire of the Turks." "They are persuaded," says the Jesuit Souciet, missionary at Thessalonica in 1708, "that the Czar will deliver them one day from the domination of the Ottomans."

The Porte had but a feeble dread of the Russians. It was separated from them by deserts, and by the Tartars of the Crimea, whose incursions had so often compelled them to implore peace and pay tributes. It had not comprehended the importance of the alliance of 1685, between Russia and Austria—an alliance suggested to the Emperor Leopold by Montecuculli, and which, for the first time, caused the barbarians of the North to enter into the affairs of the South of Europe. It was only humiliated by the cession of Azof, which unveiled, however, the aspirations of the Russians with regard to the Black Sea. After the peace, the Porte did not disquiet itself on seeing Peter the Great extend his projects upon that sea, fortify Azof, and build ships there; attempt, by an establishment at Voronez, to pierce the barrier which the Tartars opposed to him; it even supinely regarded the terrible war in which Charles XII. tried to stifle the Muscovite eagle by giving a new life to Poland. However, it secretly led the King of Sweden to hope that the Khan of the Crimea would march to his assistance. Reckoning upon that futile hope, Charles XII. adventured into the interior of Russia with an army of 16,000 men; he was conquered at Pultowa (1709), sought a refuge in Turkey, established himself at Bender, and from thence he intrigued with the Divan to draw Achmet III. into the war against Peter I. On his side, the Czar complained of the hospitality accorded to his enemy, and demanded the extradition of Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, who had delivered up the Ukraine to the King of Sweden. The French ambassadors joined their remonstrances to the solicitations of Charles XII.; but they would have remained without result, as well as the urgency of the Tartar Khan, if the embassy of the Czar had not come by way of the Black Sea on board a squadron which cast anchor before the windows of the Seraglio! Mussulman pride was irritated at the appearance of infidels in the seas interdicted to Christian commerce, and regarded as sacred by the fanaticism of the Osmanli. War was declared.

3. *War against Russia.—Peace of Falksen.*

Peter the Great appeared at first surprised at that ener getic resolution. He reckoned upon the artifices o Tolstoi, his ambassador, upon the corruption of th Viziers, upon the dilatoriness of the Divan, and the weak ness of Achmet III. But, in reality, he had only bee anticipated, as, for some time past, he had taken measures to begin the war and to secure to himself partisans in the States of the Grand Seignior. His emissaries, traversing secretly Moldavia and Wallachia, excited everywhere the inhabitants to revolt. The hospodars whom the Porte had nominated to administer those provinces were sold to Russia. Immediately after the rupture there appeared a proclamation of the Czar, which guaranteed to the Moldo-Wallachians the exclusive exercise of the Greek religion, and enfranchisement from Turkish domination.* Finally, a bishop, the chief agent of these intrigues, was seen at Jerusalem circulating a report that a prophecy had been found within the tomb of Constantine, which announced that the Turks would be driven out of Europe by the Russian nation. Peter I., reckoning upon the revolt of all the peoples of the Greek religion, flattered himself that he was about to plant the Russian eagle upon the minarets of the Seraglio. He was at the head of a formidable army; he brought with him the celebrated captive of Marienburg, whom he had just acknowledged as his wife; he was marching surrounded by the pomp of his Court, as to a certain victory, with a confidence and a presumption that he had never before shown.

Meanwhile, Charles XII. had been straining every nerve to incite the Porte to hostilities against Russia; in this he was assisted by his friend Count Poniatowsky, by the Khan of Tartary, and by the French ambassador at Constantinople. Their efforts at length succeeded. On the 21st November, 1710, the Sultan Achmet III. declared war against the Czar, and, according to the Turkish

* Perry, "The State of Russia," p. 45.

custom, imprisoned Tolstoi, the Russian ambassador, in the Seven Towers. Peter, relying on the negotiations which he had entered into with the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, though their indifference at first surprised him and who did nothing towards purchasing the liberty he had promised them, despatched a Russian division under Scheremetoff to the Pruth; and he himself marched in the same direction in the spring of 1711. Demetrius Cantemir, the Hospodar of Moldavia, a prince of Greek origin, who had engaged to assist the Czar in his war with the Turks on condition that Peter should aid him in rendering his sovereignty hereditary, induced the Russians to cross the Pruth by representing that they would be able to seize some considerable Turkish magazines. But Peter, when he had crossed the river, found that he had been completely deceived. The Moldavians were not inclined to rise, and he found himself without provisions, without munitions, surrounded by a Turkish and Tartar army of 200,000 men, in a position in which there remained only the alternative to surrender or die (1711). The pressing want of necessaries compelled him to an immediate retreat; but he had not proceeded far when he was overtaken and hemmed in by an enemy infinitely more numerous than his own forces, in a spot between the Pruth and a morass. In this situation, to retreat or to advance seemed equally impossible; yet the want of provisions compelled him to remain stationary. Despair now seized upon Peter's heart. A single hour might upset all those plans and labours for the benefit of his country which had occupied his whole life; and in his distress and agitation, which he cared not to betray, he shut himself up in his tent, and gave strict orders that no one should be admitted to his presence.

In these circumstances, a council of the principal Russian officers determined that the only chance of escape was to come to terms with the Grand Vizier, Mahommed Baltadschi, who commanded the Turkish army. None, however, was bold enough to communicate this decision to the Czar, except the intelligent and

courageous Catherine, his wife. Catherine, who, before her capture at Marienburg, had been betrothed to a Swedish corporal, and had subsequently been the mistress of Scheremetoff and Menschikoff. In this last capacity she attracted the notice and love of Peter, who secretly married her in 1707, before setting out on this expedition against the Turks. Although so illiterate that she could not even read or write, she had an intuitive skill in penetrating the characters of those with whom she was connected, and of adapting herself to their views and dispositions. She had gained complete empire over Peter by entering warmly into all his plans, and while she seemed to humour him in all his caprices, she entirely governed him. She, alone, undertook an office which might have cost another his life. She entered Peter's tent, soothed him by her caresses, and persuaded him to send a messenger to the Vizier with propositions of peace. She obtained from the principal officers what money they had to make up the present customary on such occasions, to which she added her own jewels. Fortunately for the Russians, Baltadschi was anything but a hero, and, indeed, held war in abhorrence. An intimation on the part of the Czar, supported by a slight demonstration in the Russian camp, that, if his proposals were not accepted, he meant to force his way through at the point of the bayonet, induced the Vizier to come to terms. In this moment of awful suspense, Peter displayed the great qualities which he really possessed, though they were sometimes obscured by the peculiarities of his temperament. He addressed a letter to his Senate, in which he directed them that, in the event of his being made prisoner, they should no longer regard him as their Sovereign nor obey any instructions they might receive in his name, even though signed with his own hand; while if he should be killed, they were immediately to elect another Czar. The Vizier, however, consented to receive the Russian plenipotentiaries, and thought the humiliations of Carlowitz sufficiently avenged by the conditions which he imposed in the treaty of Falksen. Russia

restored Azof to the Porte, destroyed the port of Taganrog, razed the fortifications which she had erected upon the frontiers of Turkey, whilst the Czar engaged to recall his army from Poland, and to forbear from all interference in the affairs of the Cossacks subject to the Khan of Tartary.

Apart from the latter illusory condition, the advantages which the Porte drew from that treaty were evident. "The campaign of the Pruth," says Voltaire, "was more disastrous to the Czar than the battle of Narva had been; for, after Narva, he knew how to reap advantage even from defeat; to repair all his losses and to carry off Ingria from Charles XII.; but after having lost, by the treaty of Falksen, his ports and his fortresses upon the Palus Mæotides, he was compelled to renounce the empire of the Black Sea." Thus all the ships, the construction of which had been begun, rotted upon the stocks; their timbers were sent to St. Petersburg. In vain did Peter desire to retard the restitution of Azof, he was not strong enough to forfeit his word with impunity: his bad faith was only calculated to cause the disgrace of the Vizier, who had accorded peace to him, and he was constrained to fulfil all its conditions.

When the Russian army was first surrounded in a situation from which it seemed impossible to escape, Poniatowski, who had accompanied the Grand Vizier, despatched a messenger in all haste to Charles XII. at Bender, begging him to come without delay and behold the consummation of his adversary's ruin. Charles instantly obeyed the summons, but, to his unspeakable mortification and rage, arrived only in time to see in the distance the last retreating ranks of the Russian rear-guard. Loud and bitter were the reproaches which Charles addressed to Baltadschi for his conduct. He besought the Vizier to lend him 20,000 or 30,000 men, wherewith he promised to bring back the Czar and his whole army prisoners; but Baltadschi, with a mortifying apathy, pleaded the faith of treaties, and Charles, rushing from the Vizier's tent with a loud and contemptuous laugh, leaped upon his horse and rode full gallop back to Bender. There, he and Ponia-

towski, in conjunction with the Khan of Tartary, employed themselves in effecting the ruin of the Grand Vizier. He was accused of having taken bribes to grant the peace; and though the news of the capitulation had at first been received at Constantinople with every demonstration of joy, these accusations, supported by the enemies of Baltadschi in the Seraglio, procured his banishment to Lemnos, where he died the following year.

Charles XII. and the French ambassador strove in vain to compass the abrogation of the Treaty of Falksen; the Divan became tired of their persistence. The Sultan now endeavoured to hasten the departure from his dominions of the King of Sweden, who was both a troublesome and an expensive guest. But Charles was not disposed to quit, except on the most exorbitant terms. He demanded a payment of 600,000 dollars and an escort of 30,000 men, while the Porte was inclined to grant only 6,000 men and no money. After a forbearance of many months, the Sultan at length prepared to use force. Charles's daily allowance was withdrawn, and the Janissaries were ordered to seize his person, dead or alive. Charles betrayed on this occasion a characteristic obstinacy and recklessness. Although surrounded by a force that left no hope of successful resistance, he resolved, with a few hundred followers, to defend to the last extremity his little camp at Varnitza, which he had fortified with a barricade composed of chairs, tables, casks, bedding, and whatever came to hand; and it was not until after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, in which he was more than once wounded, that he was at length secured (February, 1713). Charles was now carried to Demotica, in the interior of the empire, where a residence was assigned to him and he was compelled to live almost as a prisoner upon a very reduced allowance. In that retreat he carried on fresh intrigues successfully. Shortly after his departure from Bender, King Stanislaus arrived at that place, with the view, it is said, of mediating a peace between Charles and Augustus of Poland, by resigning the crown of Poland. But Charles would not hear of such an arrangement. He still enter-

tained the hope that the Porte might be induced to take up his own cause as well as that of Stanislaus. But these expectations were frustrated by a treaty concluded between the Porte and Augustus II., by which the peace of Carlowitz was confirmed.

By a sudden change, the Porte had again declared war against Russia in 1712; but England and Holland intervened to prevent hostilities, and a new treaty, more explicit than the preceding, was concluded at Constantinople. The Czar gave hostages to guarantee the execution of his engagements; but as he did not decide upon withdrawing his troops from Poland, those hostages were imprisoned in the Seven Towers. Fresh negotiations were set on foot; and finally the treaty of Adrianople (15th June, 1713) enlarged the limits of the territory of Azof, restored to Turkey, and completely shut out from the Russians access to the Black Sea. On the other hand, the ancient tribute was definitively abolished of 40,000 ducats which the Czars paid to the Khans of the Crimea.

About the same time, Charles XII., at length abandoning all hope of inducing the Porte to take up his cause against the Czar, was persuaded by General Lieven to return to his kingdom, or rather to his army in the north of Germany. The Emperor promised him a safe passage through his dominions; the Sultan provided him with an escort to the frontiers; but Charles, impatient of the slow progress of the Turks, set off with only two companions, and crossing the Hungarian frontier, proceeded through Hermannstadt, Buda, Vienna, Ratisbon, Hanau, to Stralsund. This extraordinary journey, which was lengthened by a considerable *detour*, and must have been at least 1,100 miles in length, was performed for the most part on horseback, and was accomplished in seventeen days.

4. *War against Venice and against Austria.—Treaty of Passarowitz.—Fresh treaty with Russia.*

Meanwhile France had terminated her struggle against Europe by the treaties of Utrecht and of Rastadt: the Divan did not disquiet itself touching the changes which these treaties caused the Mediterranean to undergo, nor about Spain given to the House of Bourbon, nor of the half of Italy given to the House of Austria, nor of England become mistress of the entrance of that sea by the possession of Gibraltar. But scarcely had her ally laid down arms, ere Turkey, suddenly by a sort of caprice, drew the sword again, and went to attack her ancient enemies, fallen like herself into decadence, the Venetians, with the view of recovering the Morea from them (1715).

The pretext of the war was a revolt of the Montenegrins. In a single campaign, the Grand Vizier, Damad Ali, made himself master of Corinth, Napoli di Romania, Modon, Malvoisia and of the whole Morea. The Turks afterwards took the only two places in Candia that still belonged to the Christians, and then laid siege to Corfu; there their successes stopped.

The Venetians invoked the support of the Emperor Charles VI., guarantee of the peace of Carlowitz. The Regent, who then governed France, had abandoned the policy of Louis XIV.; reassured on that side, Charles VI. did not fear to engage in the struggle against Turkey. After having offered his mediation, which the Divan would not accept, he summoned the Sultan to lay down arms and indemnify the Republic. It was a declaration of war.

The Emperor was alarmed at the sudden and decisive success of the Turks; and as Louis XIV. had died during the campaign, he was the more disposed to listen to the prayers of the Venetians for assistance. He was strongly exhorted to this step by Prince Eugene, who represented to him the danger that would accrue to his Italian and even his German States, if the Turks should get possession

of the Ionian Islands. An alliance was accordingly signed with the *Signoria*, 13th April, 1716. It purported to be a renewal of the Holy League of 1684, and the *casus belli* against the Porte was, therefore, the violation of the peace of Carlowitz; but instead of merely being directed against that Power, it was extended to a general defensive alliance with the Venetian Republic. Under the energetic superintendence of Eugene, the preparations for war were soon completed. In the course of April, three Austrian divisions entered Hungary, Eugene himself being at the head of the largest, composed of 70,000 men. On the other side, the Grand Vizier, with 100,000 men, marched towards Belgrade; while the agents of the Porte incited to insurrection the malcontent Hungarians, and their leader, Ragoczy, who aimed at obtaining the principality of Transylvania, and even the title of King of Hungary.

Damad Ali gave battle to Eugene of Savoy in his entrenched camp under the walls of Peterwardein on the 5th of August, 1716. The Turks lost on that day six thousand men, one hundred and fourteen cannon and five hundred standards; the Grand Vizier sought death by rushing into the mêlée. That victory was chiefly ascribed to the use of heavy cavalry, with which the Turks were as yet unacquainted. The fruits of it were the surrender of Temesvar, and even Wallachia declared for the Emperor; a manifestation, however, which led to no result.

The victor of Zenta and Peterwardein pursued his triumphal course upon the Ottoman territory, and the year following he defeated the new Grand Vizier, Khalil Pacha (16th August, 1717), and two days after he entered Belgrade, whilst General Petrusch invaded Bosnia, and in Dalmatia the Venetians obtained some unimportant advantages. At this juncture, Ibrahim Pacha having received the Imperial seals, his first care was to negotiate a peace.

Meanwhile, the Regent Duke of Orleans and the King of England, George I., had entered into an alliance to

constrain the King of Spain and the Emperor to respect the stipulations of the Utrecht treaty, and a war between France and Austria appeared imminent. The Marquis de Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, solicited the Turks to continue hostilities, by promising them the assistance of his Court. But Charles VI. of Austria hastened to yield to the requirements of the Regent and King George; and England having offered her mediation to the Divan, peace was signed at Passarowitz (21st July, 1718).

France, which the Regent and Cardinal Dubois were then dragging in the wake of England, took no part in the negotiations; and the mediatrix thus had full leisure, first to despoil the Venetians, who thenceforth no longer possessed any weight in the affairs of Europe, afterwards to aggrandize Austria and take a new influence over the Ottoman Porte. Two treaties were signed, one with the Emperor, the other with the Republic of Venice. Austria aggrandized her possessions; she acquired Belgrade, Temeswar, Wallachia as far as the course of the Aluta, and a portion of Servia. Venice kept the strongholds which she occupied in Albania, but lost the Morea.

At the news of the Peace of Passarowitz, Peter I. solicited modifications in the treaties of Falksen, Adrianople, and Constantinople, and he obtained, in fact, a new treaty which contained two remarkable articles—the one relating to Poland, the other to the Holy Places. "The Czar declares in the most formal manner that he will not appropriate any part of the territory of Poland, and that he will not meddle with the government of that Republic; and, as it is important to the two empires to prevent the sovereignty and the hereditary succession from being attached to the Crown of Poland, they join together to effect the maintenance of the rights, privileges, and constitutions of that State; and, in the event that any Power whatsoever should send troops into Poland, or that it should seek to introduce therein the sovereignty or the hereditary succession, it shall be not only permitted to each of the Powers to take such measures as its own interest

shall dictate, but the two Powers shall prevent, by all and every way possible, that the Crown of Poland shall not acquire sovereignty and hereditary succession, that the laws and constitution of the Republic may not be violated, and that any dismemberment of its territory may not take place.

Art. 2. It is open to the merchants of both nations to travel and traffic, in all safety, from one State to the other. The Russians shall be permitted to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem and in other Holy Places, without being subjected, neither at Jerusalem nor elsewhere, to any tribute (Kharadj), nor to pecuniary exactions for their passports. The Russian ecclesiastics who shall reside in the territories of the Porte shall not be molested.*

"All things have a beginning," says an historian, "and, as we shall see, the first step is a modest one, and has nothing which presages the exorbitant pretensions that were one day to excite to so high a degree the attention and the fears of the Powers in alliance with Turkey."

* César Famin, "Hist. de la rivalité des Églises Chrétiennes en Orient, p. 251.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ TO THE PEACE OF BELGRADE (1718-1739).

1. *Disastrous Policy of Turkey.—War against Persia.*

PETER THE GREAT, as has been seen, took no part in the war which the Peace of Passarowitz terminated. He continued covertly his enterprises against Sweden and Poland, and, not content with having isolated the Ottoman Empire from those two States, he attempted even to break up the old amity existing between France and Turkey. During the visit which he made to the Court of Louis XV. (1717), he proposed an Alliance with the Regent, but obtained from him only a treaty of commerce; yet he made partisans among certain French nobles, who, looking upon England and Austria as their natural, irreconcileable enemies, were desirous of replacing the Alliance of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, henceforth more onerous than profitable, by that of Russia. The Ottoman Court became uneasy at the Czar's visit. Since it had become mixed up in all the affairs of Europe, it began to recognize the necessity of penetrating deeper into the policy of the Christian States, and in order to form an exact idea of the situation of the West, it sent to France (1721) an extraordinary embassy, to conduct which it selected one of the negotiators of Passarowitz, Mahommed Effendi, a sensible and well-informed man. The pretext of his mission was to present to the King, with gifts from the Sultan, firmans which gave validity to the demands of France concerning the Holy Places. That embassy made a great noise, but led to no result.

Mahommed Effendi met with a gracious reception; all the necessary instructions were given him wherewith to enlighten the Divan as to its true interests; a project was even brought forward of an alliance offensive and defensive between the two Powers. But all this did not succeed in arousing the Ottoman Court from its apathy, its ignorance, and its prejudices; and France, being desirous at that juncture of inducing it to intervene in the Northern war to save Sweden from the grasp of Russia, found it only turned a deaf ear to every argument, and was herself compelled, at a cost of millions and by her menacing mediation, to prevent the complete spoliation of that Power by the Treaty of Nystadt (1721).

The Czar had scarcely terminated that war, ere he turned his eyes towards the other side of his empire in search of aggrandizements. In 1722, the Shah of Persia, the last real sovereign of the dynasty of the Sofis, having abdicated in favour of Mir Mahmoud, civil war broke out among the Persians. Peter the Great profited by these troubles to seize upon the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea. The Khan of the Crimean Tartars, vividly alarmed, sent word to the Porte that "the Russians, not content with seizing upon the shores of the Caspian Sea, strengthened their conquests and kept up an understanding with Georgia; that, if the Ottomans and the Tartars remained inactive, that new Power would extend itself to such a degree that it would surround all the possessions of the Porte in Asia." Whereupon the Sultan caused his troops to invade Armenia and Persian Georgia; and war seemed declared between Turks and Russians. The Czar became uneasy, and solicited the alliance or, at least, the mediation of France. On another side, the Grand Vizier had become the friend of the French ambassador at Constantinople; "holding for certain that the Ottoman Empire and the kingdom of France ought only to be at one in political precept, he listened with avidity to all the systems that the Marquis de Bonac detailed to him, and appreciated especially that one of being sparing of the forces of the Ottoman Empire, in order to impose by such

means equally on all his neighbours." He proposed to the ambassador to undertake the office of mediator between Russia and the Porte. Bonac, although he had apprised the Court of France of these events, was without instructions; for Dubois feared to displease England by contributing to the aggrandizement either of the Turks or of the Russians; a partisan of the Russian alliance, and believing that he would satisfy the interests of the Porte by an augmentation of territory, he accepted the office of mediator; but, in order to conciliate the requirements of the two belligerent States, he violated the right of nations by a treaty which left to each of them the Persian provinces they had just conquered (1724). The Persians did not accept that strange arrangement. Moreover, the Court of France, dissatisfied with the conduct of Bonac, recalled him and appointed as his successor the Marquis d'Andrezel (1725), with orders to suspend the mediation, and to thwart Russia in her projects. The Turks speedily made themselves masters of Hamadan, Erivan, Tebriz, &c. One campaign sufficed to put them in possession of the Persian territory which Russia had abandoned to them.

Peter the Great died; Catherine, heiress of his ideas and of his sceptre, sought, in a close alliance with Austria, the support which Russia needed to ruin, in spite of France, the Ottoman Empire, and the treaty of Vienna was concluded (1725). That treaty, which renewed, reinforced, and fixed the alliance between the two Courts against Turkey, had for its principal condition—a condition kept secret down to the present time—that Austria and Russia bound themselves in perpetuity, in case of war with the Porte between either of them, to unite their armies and not to make a separate peace.

Meanwhile, the Turks extended and consolidated their conquests in Persia; that unhappy country was desolated at once by foreign invasion and civil war. Echref caused his cousin Mir Mahmoud to be strangled, and seized upon his power. His rival, Shah Thamas, offered to the Porte the sovereignty of the provinces it had occupied. The

Turks treated with him, but Echref, in the ascendant, demanded peace, acceded to the conditions proposed by his competitor, and was recognized as legitimate sovereign of Iran. He was speedily overthrown by Nadir, lieutenant of Thamas, and the latter having re-entered Ispahan, Nadir invaded the Ottoman frontiers. Ibrahim Pacha was desirous of peace; he tried to negotiate, and only set out with regret to repulse the Persians. His tergiversations irritated the Turks. The Janissaries, excited to revolt by a certain Patrona Khalil, demanded that in twenty-four hours the Grand Vizier, the Mufti, and the Capudan-pacha should be given up to them. The Sultan was unable to shield his favourite from the fury of the soldiers and populace; Ibrahim was put to death; but that detestable sacrifice did not save Achmet III. The rebels shouted, "Long live Mahmoud!" and the Sultan Achmet, without attempting a useless resistance, himself acknowledged as Padischah his nephew Mahmoud I. (1730).

2. *Mahmoud I.—Peace with Persia.—War of France in favour of Poland.*

The capital and the Empire remained for some time in the power of Patrona Khalil, who, whilst still wearing his uniform of a common Janissary, dictated his will to the Divan, imposed decrees for the relief of the people, and, through the favour of the soldiery and the populace, seemed sole heir of Achmet III. This energetic ruler was got rid of by treason; he was assassinated in an ambush, under the eyes of Mahmoud and his Ministers. His partisans rose in arms, but the insurrection had no longer a head; it was stifled in the blood of several thousand victims.

Order once more re-established, the Porte resumed the war against Persia. Schah Thamas underwent numerous reverses and was constrained to sue for peace; which was signed the 10th of January, 1732. Turkey kept Daghes-

tan, the Karthli, Nakhtchivan, Erivan, Tiflis; Persia recovered Tebriz, Ardelan, Hamadan, and all Loristan; the Araxes thus became, on the side of Aderbaïdjan, the limit of the two States. But that treaty was not destined to be long kept. Nadir, who, under the title of Thamas-Kouli-Khan (Khan the slave of Thamas), reigned as a sovereign over several provinces of Persia, protested loudly against the conclusion of the peace; he marched upon Ispahan, deposed Thamas, declared himself regent of the kingdom, and summoned the Turks to restore the territory and towns which the treaty had just conceded to them. He besieged Bagdad, but he could not make himself master of it; Topal-Osman Pacha having come to the succour of that city, a terrible encounter took place upon the Tigris at Douldjeïlik, and Thamas-Kouli-Khan, wounded in the combat, was hurried off the field by his routed army (19th June, 1733). Osman Pacha snatched a fresh victory near Leïtam. Lastly, he was in turn defeated and perished upon the field of battle. His death was a public misfortune for the Turks, who experienced a continuous series of checks, and on the 14th of July, 1733, the Ottoman army was almost annihilated in a vast plain between Baghawerd and Akhikendi. That disaster decided the Porte to negotiate, and the plenipotentiaries which it sent to Tiflis were present at the coronation of Nadir Shah. The treaty, concluded in the month of September, 1736, fixed the boundaries of the two Empires conformably to that of 1639, and stripped the Ottomans of all their recent acquisitions.

The signature of that treaty was hastened by the threats and armaments of Russia. The results of the Treaty of Vienna soon became manifest. Poland, consumed during two centuries by perpetual anarchy, seemed devoted to certain ruin, and in the whole of Europe there was only one Power that had interested itself in its preservation—France. Thus Russia, Austria and Prussia, foreseeing that at the death of Augustus II., the *protégé* of Peter the Great, the Poles would seek to regenerate their country by choosing, under the pro-

tection of France, a national king, concluded between themselves a secret pact (1732) by which they mutually engaged to nullify by every possible means French influence over Poland, a pact which may be regarded as the origin of the projects for the dismemberment of that kingdom. Augustus II. died (1733); the Poles elected Stanislas Leczinski; but two armies, Russian and Austrian, seated the son of Augustus II. on the throne. France promised aid to the Poles, declared war against Austria, and solicited the Porte to avenge the injury that Russia had just done her, by intervening in a country the independence of which the treaties of Falksen and Constantinople placed under its protection. To the Marquis d'Andrezel had succeeded the Marquis de Villeneuve, a minister full of talent and activity; he had several conferences with the Grand Vizier, in which he explained to him the situation of Europe, the necessity for the Porte to return to the policy of Charles XII., that is to say, to an alliance with Sweden and Poland, and the isolation in which Turkey would speedily find itself by the abasement or the despoiling of those two States. The Vizier was moved by these representations; he addressed to the two Imperial Courts a protestation against the entrance of the Russians into Poland, and threateningly demanded the execution of the treaty of Constantinople. But that protest and those threats were futile, and a year passed away without war being declared, without even the assembling of an army; the Divan reserving against Persia all the forces of Turkey. Whereupon Villeneuve, to extricate the Ottoman Court from its error, despatched to the Khan of the Tartars, the inveterate enemy of the Russians, an Hungarian gentleman, a refugee in France, the Baron de Tott, adroit and well-informed, who incited him to invade the Ukraine for the enforcement of the tribute which the Russians had formerly paid him. The Khan entered readily into the views of the agent of France, and declared openly that he would willingly give all he possessed to see the Russians driven out of Poland. But then Augustus III. flung gold lavishly into the Divan; the declaration

of war was still delayed, and a prohibition was given the Tartars against entering the Ukraine. The Russians thus found themselves masters in Poland, and Stanislas was driven therefrom. France directed all her efforts against Austria, and incited anew the Porte to attack Russia, by pointing out that that enemy was preparing to besiege Azof. The Divan still continued deaf to these instances. The Court of Versailles then, to attain its ends, employed the offices of a French renegade, the Count de Bonneval, who was during fourteen years the secret soul of the Ottoman policy in its relations with the European Cabinets.

This adventurer, after having deserted France to serve in the armies of the Emperor, had forsaken Germany and his religion to turn Mussulman, and had become a general of bombardiers, a pacha of two tails, the friend and counsellor of the Grand Vizier. A body of troops had been confided to him, which he had trained in the European mode, and while attempting to reform the whole of the Ottoman army, the fears of the Sultan and the representations of Russia arrested him in his projects. It was he who revealed to the Porte the secrets of European policy; who made known to it, by memoranda which he addressed to the Sultan, its true interests; who suggested the means of continuing the wars in which it found itself engaged. An implacable enemy of Austria, he could have wished, by the services he rendered France, to obtain his pardon at the Court of Versailles; but, jealous of its ambassadors, and desirous of keeping to himself every negotiation; going, by a spirit of intrigue, beyond the orders of Cardinal Fleury, he was, whilst continuing to be the pivot of the efforts directed by France against Austria and Russia, more hurtful than useful both to Turkey and to France.

Fleury, pursuing his modest and timid policy, intended, in the war which he was carrying on against Austria in favour of Poland, to profit by the diversions which Turkey should undertake, without being constrained to make with her an alliance offensive and defensive; that would arm, he thought, England in favour of Austria, and would thus

kindle a general war. This was to follow the example of Louis XIV., without perceiving that the elevation of Russia had changed the necessities of French policy. He had therefore ordered Villeneuve only to incite the Turks to enter Hungary, and he wished Bonneval to support to the utmost that negotiation. But the latter thought that the occasion had arrived for restoring to the Franco-Turkish alliance the character which it had under Francis I. He therefore sent to the Court of Versailles a project of alliance by which France should be bound not to make a separate peace, and not to direct its operations save in concert with the Ottoman Court. Fleury, offended at a negotiation which he had not ordered, rejected the alliance, but continued nevertheless to demand a diversion of the Turks in Hungary. Then the Emperor Charles VI. having got intelligence of Bonneval's intrigues, saw his ruin foreboded in the armed alliance between France and the Porte: he therefore hastened to ward off the blow by making Fleury very advantageous offers of peace. The Cardinal, before listening to them, endeavoured to make the Porte comply with his demands; but the latter stood out firmly: then France acceded to the proposals of Charles VI., and the Treaty of Vienna was concluded (1735).

3. *War with Russia and Austria.—Part taken by France.—Treaty of Belgrade.*

That glorious but impolitic Treaty was scarcely signed, ere Russia commenced hostilities against the Porte, which was then embarrassed by the Persian war, and weakened by the successes of Nadir Shah. The Tartars of the Crimea, summoned to Asia, directed their route towards the Caucasus by crossing Muscovite territory. That violation of the frontiers was the pretext advanced by the Russians in order to break the Treaty of 1720. The Divan immediately sought the intervention of France. Villeneuve, seeing the war he had fomented break out,

dared not, unempowered, enter upon peace negotiations. He therefore solicited orders from Versailles, and the Grand Vizier himself wrote to Fleury. The Austrian ambassador then offered to mediate on the part of the Porte, and he succeeded in obtaining the support of the English and Dutch ambassadors. Bonneval warned the Ottoman ministers that "the Emperor's design was merely to amuse them until he had again filled up the ranks of his forces, which had returned in a shattered condition from Italy." Fleury wrote to the Grand Vizier in the same sense, telling him that "this war would infallibly drag the Emperor into it, in order to satisfy the engagements by which he was bound by his alliance with the Czarina." The intrigues of certain Greeks in the pay of Russia prevailed over these counsels, and the mediation of Austria was accepted. But, whilst the mediator amused the Turks with abortive conferences, an Austrian army advanced into Hungary. The Divan, perceiving at length the treason concealed under the Austrian mediation, demanded to know what would be the destination of that army, in the event of the Russians refusing to treat. "If peace cannot be concluded," he was answered, "the Emperor will lend his aid to Russia."

Villeneuve, however, received his instructions. Fleury had consulted the English minister, pointing out to him the interest Great Britain had in arresting the usurpations of the Russians. But the Cabinet of St. James's gave him to understand that a diversion on the part of the Court of Versailles in favour of the Turks would bring about a coalition in which England would be forced to take part with Austria. The Cardinal then directed Villeneuve to use every exertion to procure peace for the Turks; to prevent, as far as possible, the Russians from obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea; in fine, to declare explicitly to the Divan that France would not make any diversion in its favour. "You cannot represent too strongly to the Porte," he wrote to him, "although with reservation proportionate to its delicacy, the danger it will incur by continuing the war, and bring under its

consideration that, if it should last, it would be difficult for the majority of the Christian princes not to espouse the Emperor's quarrel" (1737). Whereupon Villeneuve despatched the Baron de Tott to the Grand Vizier, then encamped at Bender, to represent to him "the fatal conseqences the war might have," and to persuade him "that, in the present conjuncture, the Turks being assured that the House of Austria would declare for Russia, and that France would not take up arms against the Germans, it was the interest of the Porte to make peace; that the Russians, insisting upon keeping Azof, of which General de Lascy had made himself master, it was practicable to abandon that place to them without leaving open to them for all that the entrance to the Black Sea, by fortifying Kouban, situate upon the shore of the Zabach Strait; that then the Turks would neither fear the incursions of the Russian ships of war nor the competition of their merchant vessels." The Grand Vizier complained at first to Baron de Tott that France, which three years previously had wished to arm the Turks against the House of Austria, was exhorting them at that moment to make a disadvantageous peace. The negotiator replied: "We exhorted you to war when the Russians had an army in Poland to support the election of King Augustus, when the Emperor, whom you now menace, was attacked at once by France, Spain, and Sardinia. You might then have hoped for success, and your efforts against the House of Austria might have been as useful to us as to yourselves. At the present time, King Augustus is tranquilly seated upon the throne of Poland; peace is firm between Austria and the confederate Powers; the King of France neither wishes nor ought to make his subjects support the weight of a useless war; he owes you only good offices, and he will always render you them. We did advise war, three years since, for the common interests of our empire and yours. To-day we advise peace solely for your advantage."

This advice, which Villeneuve repeated to the Sultan at Constantinople, was sincere; for the Russians, already masters of Azof, had just seized upon Oczakof and Kinburn,

and Münnich, who commanded them, penetrated into the Steppes, but was compelled to return with great loss. "The Christians of the Ottoman Empire," he wrote to St. Petersburg, "look upon the Czarina as their legitimate Sovereign; we must profit by their enthusiasm and their hopes, and march on Constantinople." At the same time, Charles VI., raising the mask, commenced the invasion of Bosnia, Servia, and Wallachia. But the Imperialists were punished for their perfidy by cruel defeats. Defeated at Banyalonka and at Vallievo, they were driven out of Nissa, Crajova, Semendria, Mahadia and Orsova, and withdrew in disorder from the provinces they had invaded. The Emperor found himself reduced to sue for peace, promising to make the Russians give their adherence to it, who had also just undergone a series of checks, in spite of the skill of Münnich. The Turks rejected this demand, although it was supported by England and Holland, and they declared that they would only receive proposals of peace on the part of France. The latter offered immediately its mediation, proposing to place the Treaty under its guarantee. The Porte eagerly accepted the offer, and Villeneuve, after having received the highest honours at Constantinople, set out with a magnificent escort to join the Vizier, who was besieging Belgrade.

When Villeneuve arrived at the camp of the Grand Vizier, the Imperialists had just experienced a complete rout near Kroska, and the garrison of Belgrade was reduced to extremities. The negotiations began immediately, and they were conducted with great ability by the mediator, who, following the instructions of his Court, succeeded in obtaining a peace signed separately with Austria and Russia, under the guarantee of France (Sept. 1739).

The Emperor restored to the Porte the province of Servia, Belgrade, the fortress of Crabacz, minus the artillery and munitions of war, the whole of Austrian Wallachia, the island and fortress of Orsova. The Danube and the Save became the boundaries of the two States. The truce was to last for twenty-seven years.

By the treaty of perpetual peace concluded with Russia, it was stipulated that the fortress of Azof should be demolished, and that its desert territory should form the boundary between the two Empires. The Russians were permitted to build a new fortress upon the banks of the Don, near Azof, and the Turks to construct one near Kouban. Commerce was declared free on both sides, but with the condition that the Russians should only employ Turkish vessels on the Black Sea.*

The Peace of Belgrade restored the Ottoman Porte to the rank from which the peace of Carlowitz had caused it to fall. "That treaty," says Von Hammer, "which established a new line of frontiers advantageous to the Porte, and which was concluded under the mediation and guarantee of France, is, under that twofold point of view, one of the most salient acts of which the French and Ottoman diplomatic annals make mention. The influence of France over Ottoman affairs was never so decisive either before or after, and the mission of M. de Villeneuve is assuredly the most memorable that the history of the diplomatic relations of France with Turkey signalizes. Villeneuve, invested with the imposing title of Ambassador Extraordinary, was at once the soul, the counsellor, and the guide of all the negotiations entered upon with the Porte by the different European Cabinets.

* One of the clauses of the Treaty of Belgrade.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE PEACE OF BELGRADE TO THE PEACE OF KAINARDJI.

1. *Treaty with Sweden.—Capitulations of* 1740.

THE first use France made of her influence was to enlighten the Porte upon the political system which it was incumbent upon it to follow, pointing out to it that the existence of Sweden and Poland was intimately connected with its own. Thus, being unable, in the existing conjuncture, to unite itself with Poland, become the vassal of Russia, it signed with Sweden, at first a treaty of friendship and commerce, then a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, in virtue of which the two States afforded one another a mutual support in case of aggression from Russia. That alliance was in reality the first of the kind ever signed between the Porte and a Christian Power; as it was at variance with the custom of the Ottomans, it testifies to the change which had been operated in their European position and of the consciousness they were beginning to entertain of their perils. The Russian ambassador strove to break that treaty by corrupting the French ambassador and the Ottoman ministers; but the Czarina's presents effected no change in Villeneuve's policy, who forewarned the reis-effendi and the interpreter of the Porte against the Russian offers; and the treaty was maintained (1740).

Villeneuve profited by the all-powerful influence he enjoyed with the Divan to demand the renewal of the capitulations. The Sultan Mahmoud hastened to satisfy him by bringing to the hatti-sherif of 1673 all the modifications required by France, and the capitulations of the 30th May, 1740, became a formal treaty of friendship and

commerce in eighty-five articles, which has only been renewed once, in 1802, and which still regulates at the present time the relations of France with the Ottoman Empire.

"In that treaty, the Sultan, after having renewed the precedent capitulations, recalls to mind that the ambassadors and consuls of France ought to have precedency over the ambassadors and consuls of Spain and other monarchs. The new privileges concern, in the first place, the position and the jurisdiction of the French consuls; they exempt the French merchants and traders from the brokerage tax, called *mezeterie;* they extend to every kind of merchandize indifferently the customs duty of three per cent., the benefit of which was only granted before to six articles, whether for importation or exportation: cottons, woollen or spun, morocco leather, wax, leathers and silks. Briefly, the French and the *protégés* of France might go and come freely in the States of the Sultan without being liable to pay the *kharadj*, and it shall be permitted to them to wear Oriental vestments."*

An ambassador extraordinary, Mohammed Saïd, went to present these capitulations to Louis XV., with the thanks of Mahmoud and rich presents. He was received with distinguished honour, and returned to Constantinople with two ships of war and a small corps of French gunners which were placed under the command of Bonneval, and with which it was attempted to regenerate the Ottoman artillery.

France continued to enlighten the Porte upon its interests, its dangers, its alliances, and to point out to it the politic path in which she might not only find safety, but recruit her power. The path was that in which Louis XV. ordered his ambassadors to restrict themselves, and he indicated it in his secret correspondence in these words:—"It is necessary to unite by a perpetual alliance Turkey, Poland, Sweden, and Prussia, under the mediation of France, against Austria and Russia." But, since that her arms have regained some honour, since that she has absolved herself of her greatest humiliations by the

* C. Famin, p. 277.

treaty of Belgrade, since moreover she has seen all the Christian States soliciting her friendship, showing esteem for her power, interesting themselves in her grandeur, the Porte has resumed all its ignorant and apathetic pride. She (Turkey) did not perceive that those States showed excitement about her, not because she was to be dreaded, but because she had become a counterpoise too weak for the equilibrium of the Continent, since the appearance of the Russians upon the European stage had changed the conditions of that equilibrium; and, deaf to the voice of her ally, defying her counsels, rejecting more and more her influence, she had lulled herself asleep with a haughty carelessness, in the belief that she was still the arbitress of Europe.

2. *War of the Austrian Succession.—Neutrality of Turkey.*

The Treaty of Belgrade was scarcely signed, than a decisive opportunity presented itself for the Porte to resume its old position. The States of the House of Austria having fallen into the hands of a woman, Maria Theresa, France, in accord with the majority of the princes of Germany, resolved to make war to effect the ruin or dismemberment of that House, and she solicited Turkey to invade Hungary, promising her that kingdom for her portion of the spoil (1741). Sultan Mahmoud replied to that solicitation by a formal refusal; he published even a manifesto urging the belligerent Powers to remain at peace; and, remembering that a mediation had abased Turkey at Carlowitz, and that a mediation at Belgrade had raised her up again, he offered in turn his mediation. European diplomacy smiled at a proposition so strange issuing from the mouth of the successor of Mahomet II., and only replied to it in expressions of vague thanks. The Sultan felt much offended at this, and cherished a lively resentment in consequence against France.

Villeneuve had resigned the Constantinople embassy,

and the Marquis of Castellane had succeeded him; "but the talents of the new ambassador," says a correspondent of the time, "were not turned in the direction of intrigue and business, and the French minister sought to turn to profit those of Bonneval Pacha, to whom a pension had been given, with the promise of his return to France. The renegade exercised all his wonted activity, used all his influence to decide the Porte to make war; but he failed: the Sultan was still irritated at the refusal of his mediation, and his ministers remembered the revelations Bonneval had made them touching French policy at the period of the war of the Polish succession. "I knew," wrote Castellane to the minister Argenson, "that the reis-effendi had imbibed from M. de Bonneval the prejudice that has always been an obstacle to our views; I mean that prepossession that France desires to involve the Turks in war only to get rid of them and to sacrifice them in time of peace. It was in 1734, at a time when the reis-effendi and the Count de Bonneval entered into our affairs concerning Poland, that the most malign inferences of the procedure of France, at the Treaty of Ryswick, were brought into their full light, and that the negotiations of the Marquis de Villeneuve were caused to fail by demanding that France should bind herself by engagements in writing with the Porte, for the continuation of the war. It is in that school that the Turks have learnt to mistrust us, and that the reis-effendi himself has imbibed those principles, of which he has given a very candid explanation, even on this occasion."

England, however, had come to the aid of Maria Theresa, and France, abandoned by her German allies, having alone to support the burden of the war, fresh solicitations were made to the Divan by the Cabinet of Versailles: "We need a diversion in Hungary," wrote d'Argenson to Bonneval; "do everything to obtain it. . . . If we are compelled to sign a peace which leaves to Austria her ancient States with a host of veteran troops, that will be the ruin of the Turks. Their interest demands, therefore, that they should arm in the present conjuncture, to contri-

bute of themselves to the diminution of that power; that future danger is a reason which permits them not to balance." But Bonneval found the Sultan and his Ministers immovable. "They are altogether determined," he replied to d'Argenson, "not to cause the Queen of Hungary disquietude, and not to depart in anything from the last treaties, and that so much the more, say they, that affairs have taken, in Christendom, an advantageous turn for the Ottoman Empire."

France experienced reverses and the Austrians penetrated into Provence. Then the Porte became agitated by the perils and representations of its ally; it declared that it would be chagrined to see the Crown revert to a new House of Austria; it urged the Court of Versailles to persist in its political system; it even entertained the propositions of Bonneval for an alliance offensive and defensive between France, Prussia, and Turkey. Castellane thereupon asked for instructions from Versailles, and he presented (1747) a project to the Divan which bore for its principal stipulations: 1. The Allied Powers shall engage not to lay down arms until the husband of Maria Theresa has renounced the Imperial Crown; 2. The Porte retains its conquests in Hungary; 3. The Ministers of the Porte shall assist at a Congress which will take place for the re-establishment of a general peace, &c. Three great Conferences were devoted by the Ottoman Ministers to the discussion of that project; the ambassador showed them the downfall of the House of Austria as certain when its States should be surrounded by the armies of the three Powers; he reminded them that, in the first year of the war, when the French were at some leagues distance from Vienna and the Prussians masters of Silesia, if the Turks had entered Hungary, Maria Theresa would have been forced to sign her own ruin. The Divan seemed shaken, although its most influential members were persuaded that France only desired to clear herself of that war in order to throw the effort of it upon the Turks. But then there came, on the part of Maria Theresa, the most formal protestations of

friendship, which were supported by the threats of Russia and the gold of England; at the same time, it became known that the King of Prussia had just made his separate peace with the Queen of Hungary. The negotiation with France was broken off, and all the efforts of Castellane, all the intrigues of Bonneval, to renew it, failed. The Divan found itself so completely circumvented by the enemies of France, that, at the instance of England and in the hope of thus delivering itself from all war, from all danger, it signed a treaty of perpetual peace with Austria and Russia (1748). Bonneval, irritated at the ill-success of his overtures, expired on the very day upon which he received a letter from Versailles authorizing him to return to France.

Austria and England, rejoicing in the blindness of the Porte, solicited the aid of Russia in order to put an end to the war; in fact, 30,000 Russians directed their march upon the Rhine. Count Desalleurs had succeeded Castellane. "He was," says a contemporary report, "a man of strong sense, thoughtful, speaking little, and going at once to the fact; with a simple and natural manner, but subtle and acute." He made very lively representations to the Sultan, with the view to determine him to protest against the march of the Russian army, and presented to him no less than seven memorials in order to demonstrate the abounding peril of the intervention of the Northern Powers in the affairs of Southern Europe. But the Porte, content to see the Russians direct their arms and their ambition far away from its frontiers, remained silent, and thought only of giving fresh evidences of friendship to the two Powers which were secretly leagued to effect her ruin. Desalleurs, to rouse it from its immobility and make it see that its peril was more disquieting to France than the vicissitudes of her own war against Austria, renewed the proposition of a quadruple alliance between the Porte, France, Prussia, and Sweden, an alliance by which the four States engaged themselves to repress the ambition of Russia, and never to make a separate peace with the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. All that was rejected, and

the Court of Versailles had no longer wherewith to occupy itself save its own interests, in disarming its enemies by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).

3. *Efforts of France to enlighten Turkey.—Encroachments of Russia.*

France, far from testifying the slightest resentment against the Porte, strove once more to bring it back into its natural way, and she did it with a perseverance, a solicitude, and disinterestedness which reflected much honour upon her diplomacy. "Recover at Constantinople the highest influence," wrote the Minister to Desalleurs, "protect Sweden, do not abandon Poland, arrest the career of the vast projects of Russia, are the four designs that the King orders you never to lose sight of." But Desalleurs knew the obstacles which he had to overcome. "Things are much changed," he wrote, "since the peace of Belgrade; the pretended refusal of the mediation of the Porte by France, and the Treaty of perpetual peace concluded with the Courts of Vienna and Russia, the exhaustion produced by the Persian war; finally, the particular interest of the Grand Seignior, have caused the adoption of the pacific system as the only means of sustaining the Grand Seignior on the throne and of preventing a general revolution."

However, notwithstanding the little attention the Divan paid to his advice, French influence in the East had undergone no diminution; yet, whilst France enjoyed, amongst the peoples of the Levant an influence and a prosperity that was the envy of England, all the representations and solicitations of its diplomacy failed before the obstinate indolence and senseless security of the Sultan and his Ministers. In vain did Desalleurs expose the design which Russia had of incorporating Sweden with its Empire, inviting them to offer their mediation; in vain he urged the Divan to conclude, in concert with France, a treaty of alliance with Prussia; in vain did he support the efforts

of an agent of the King of Denmark, who solicited a treaty of commerce; in vain did he propose a direct alliance against Russia, in order to save Poland, already twice threatened with dismemberment. Louis XV. wrote himself (1752) secretly to the Sultan three pressing letters, in which he declared that he was ready to defend Sweden against Russia, if the Porte would join its efforts to his; in which he unveiled the designs of the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg upon Poland,* in which he renewed the demand for an alliance offensive and defensive between the Porte, France, and Prussia. The Sultan and his Ministers only made evasive answers to the French King's propositions, as well as to those of his ambassador; they even considered themselves as offended by the observations of Desalleurs upon the state of decadence into which the Ottoman army had fallen, and they refused his concurrence in the remounting of their artillery, fortifying their strong-holds, and instructing their soldiers in the first principles of modern war.

Russia, meanwhile, did not scruple to commit the most flagrant violations of its treaties with the Porte; it founded and fortified a new province under the name of New Servia, in that extent of country which lies between the Bug and the frontiers of the Ukraine, and which, by the terms of the Treaty of Belgrade, was to remain uncultivated and uninhabited, and presenting only an immense desert, to serve as a barrier between the two Empires. By that novel arrangement, she not only cut off, in time of war, communication between the Turks and the Tartars, and procured herself the facility of forming magazines for her armies, but, moreover, usurped a considerable extent of country belonging to the domains of the Ottoman Empire. To all these infractions she did not confine the irregularity of her conduct towards the Turks: after having solemnly engaged not to meddle further with the affairs of Poland, she therein maintained a powerful party, and negotiated a treaty of alliance with the King and the Republic; she

* Louis XV. had married Maria Leczinski, daughter of Stanislaus Leczinski, King of Poland.

protected the Kabardians and the Circassians, sent emissaries and troops amongst them, there established magazines and barracks, and strove to withdraw those peoples from their obedience to the Khan of the Tartars. That Khan, Arslan Gheraï, a fiery and warlike prince, devoted to France and Sweden, cherishing an implacable hatred of the Russians, suffered impatiently their aggressive enterprises, and did not cease to stir up the Porte to repel them; he warned it of all their manœuvres, exhorted it incessantly to firmness, and neglected nothing wherewith to force its hand; he laboured, in concert with the French ambassador, to put it in relation with the King of Prussia, who had not yet a minister resident at Constantinople; he obtained its permission to despatch to that prince an unscrupulous emissary, whose task was to sow the first germ of an understanding between the two Courts; he took upon himself likewise authority to send to the Polish Diet, in 1753, a Minister to assure the Polish patriots of all the protection of the Porte as well as his own, and to decide them to reject the alliance of Russia, in which their king was desirous of engaging them; he made use of, without the agreement or even the participation of the Porte, the pretext of wishing to chastise the Circassians for a refusal of slaves which they had made him, to have an opportunity of passing into Circassia and the Kouban a large number of troops, then to seek a quarrel with the Russians, and fall upon those which they had brought into Circassia and the Kabardia, at a time of peace and against the faith of treaties. But the constant efforts of that prince to bring the Porte to a rupture, only obtained from it a few slight demonstrations; the Ottoman Minister persisted in preferring a tolerance which prolonged the amenities of peace to an animadversion which should rekindle the flames of war.

4. *New administration of Wallachia and Moldavia.—The Fanariotes.*

Whilst the Porte, believing the Empire saved for ever by the Treaty of Belgrade, turned a deaf ear to the warnings of its ally, France, and of its faithful vassal, the Khan of the Crimea, it took, with regard to the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, measures which have favoured the ambition of Russia, brought about interminable embarrassments, and dealt a disastrous blow to the Ottoman power.

The Voïvodes Brancovano in Wallachia, and Cantemir in Moldavia, had given the fatal example of alliance with the Czar, and their treason had favoured the Russian and Austrian invasion. To secure the fidelity of the two provinces, the Porte took from them the administration of the native boyards; but, instead of simply making of them two pachalics, desirous of respecting the religion and manners of the inhabitants, as well as the ancient treaties that united them to the Empire, it resolved to have them governed by Christian rayahs, subjects and creatures of the Sultan. The Greeks of the Fanar, for a long period the lowest, the most corrupt servants of the Porte, solicited those dignities, and Mavrocordato was the first Fanariote who left the shores of the Bosphorus to govern Wallachia.

The new prince paid for his elevation by increasing the tribute paid to the Porte by 500,000 piastres; he desired to reform the administration of the country, but he displeased everybody: the boyards, by the suppression of their feudal rights; the peasants, by the augmentation of taxation: he was deposed in 1741. Recovizza, who succeeded him, still further increased the tribute; but he held power only for three years; "the Sultan did not grant a longer lease to the Fanariotes who farmed the Principalities; so that they were obliged, every year, to purchase at great cost the confirmation of their title. The Voïvodes were thus placed almost on the same footing as the pachas in the other Turkish provinces."* Mavrocor-

* Ballony, "Essai sur les Fanariotes," p. 20.

dato, re-instated in Wallachia (1744), again increased the capitation tribute to pay for his establishment. At the end of three years, he went to reign in Moldavia, but was replaced by Gregory Ghika (1748). "That prince," says a Roumanian historian, "like all his predecessors and successors of the same stock, showed himself faithful to the Fanariote system, and only regarded the principality as a conquered country in which he was at liberty to enrich himself by pillaging it, without caring for the poor inhabitants and the rights of humanity." Those exactions ruined and depopulated the Principalities; several thousands of families emigrated, and all the nation conceived against the Turks a hatred too well justified by the bad choice of hospodars and by the augmentation of the tribute. Russia had demanded, in 1737, that Wallachia and Moldavia should be declared independent under her protection; it was towards Russia that the oppressed Roumanians turned their faces and their hopes. Turkey was soon about to expiate its greedy and barbarous policy, and the enslavement of the Principalities to the tyranny and the rapacity of the Fanariotes was destined to prove a cause of ruin to her, as well as the abandonment of Poland and Sweden.

Mahmoud I. died at the close of 1754, in his fifty-eighth year, while returning from Friday prayers, after a reign of twenty-four years. Osman III., his brother, succeeded him.

5. *Osman III.—Change in the policy of France.—Affair of the Holy Places.*

Turkey had enjoyed a long interval of tranquillity. Sultan Mahmoud, though not endowed with great abilities, and entirely governed by the Ministers who surrounded him, encouraged the arts of peace. He built numerous mosques, founded several schools and professorships, as well as four libraries. He encouraged the art of printing, which had been introduced at Constantinople by an Hungarian renegade; but it had many opponents and made slow progress. By granting the Janissaries an exemption from import duties,

he induced a large number of them to engage in commerce, and thus rendered them sedulous for the tranquillity of the government. These regulations, however, contributed to break the military spirit of the nation, as was but too manifest in its subsequent struggles with Russia.

Osman, drawn from the retreat in which he vegetated at fifty-nine years old, brought to the throne an incapacity verging on imbecility. Inheriting from his ancestors only their cruelty, he commenced by causing the death of three sons of Achmet III. The Grand Vizier Ali Pacha, accused of an understanding with them, met with the same fate. In less than two years, eight ministers succeeded each other in that perilous post, and were successively deposed or executed by the weak and capricious monarch. In the end, a clever man, Mohammed-Raghib, received the seal of the Empire and kept it until his death.

Osman reigned only three years (1754–1757); his reign is merely marked by a terrible conflagration which consumed two-thirds of Constantinople and had a great number of victims. With regard to Europe, he remained faithful to the pacific system of Sultan Mahmoud. M. de Vergennes, the successor of Desalleurs (1755) could obtain nothing from the Divan. Then the Court of Versailles, despairing of drawing the Porte from its nullity and pressed by the enmity of England, was driven to adopt the great change in the political system which the alliance of 1756 between France and Austria signalized.

The necessity which in its origin inspired that alliance is well known, looked upon at first as a master-piece and later as a diplomatic monstrosity. France, in engaging itself against England in a maritime war in which nothing less for her was at stake than that of being or of not being a colonial Power, desired to avoid having her forces occupied upon the continent by Austria, even as it had happened to her in all her struggles with England. It was therefore, in that respect, that the alliance of Louis XV. with Maria Theresa seemed a master-stroke, and at first had the effect of startling the Court of St. James's. But there was wanting in it an important condition, which

was that Austria should enter into the policy of France for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire—a policy to which it did not appear difficult to convert her; for the power of Russia was beginning to disquiet Maria Theresa, and the treaty of Versailles of 1756 implicitly annulled the treaty of Vienna of 1725. In a word, "the alliance of Austria deprived France of the confidence and friendship of the Porte: it sufficed, to destroy the bad effect of it, to guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman territory in Europe."* Nothing was done in the matter, and the Treaty of 1756 had only fatal results, not only because the silly vanity of the mistress of Louis XV. caused that alliance of precaution against England to degenerate into a war of destruction against Prussia, but further because that the basis of the union of France with the Porte, which was the abasement of the House of Austria, after two hundred and thirty years of existence, found itself shaken.

The Court of St. James's eagerly availed itself of this treaty to again warn the Porte that France was repudiating its alliance and becoming its enemy; the English Ministry sought to substitute, in the Divan, its influence in the place of that of France, making it sign a treaty of friendship and commerce with Prussia; it sought even to drag the Porte into the war against Austria. The Porte had previously resisted the solicitations and warnings of France, not by defiance, but sluggishness. It was discontented and disquieted by the Treaty of Versailles; but it was too much accustomed to regard France as her true friend to believe in the rupture of the alliance. Meanwhile French influence in the East was affected by the discontent caused to Turkey by the Treaty of Versailles: Russia profited by the temper of the Divan to secretly excite scandalous quarrels relative to the custody of the Holy Places, quarrels by which it strove to despoil France of its protectorate over the Christians of the East. That affair of the Holy Places having had long-standing and grave consequences even to our own days, since it was the origin of the war of 1854, we will sum up in few words

* "Politique des Cabinets de l'Europe," tom. iii. p. 160.

the history of the rights of France over the Holy Places.

The Affair of the Holy Places.

The possession of the Holy Places disputed between the Latins, the Greeks, and the Armenians does not involve the right of proprietorship, but only that of usufruct. The Mussulman law opposes itself to that which infidels possess in the land of the faithful; it does not permit them to construct new churches, when even that it should be owned that those churches ought to be considered as public property, and to belong, consequently, to the territorial sovereign: but it accords to them the authorization of maintaining the ancient churches, that is to say of repairing them and re-erecting the fallen portions, without, however, having the power to add thereto new constructions. In Eastern customs, and especially those of the Holy Land, the exclusive possession of a Church, of a sanctuary, of an altar, whatever it may be, by a Christian communion does not exclude the other communions from the faculty of celebrating therein; but the possessors have solely the right of keeping the keys, of repairing those edifices and of maintaining them at their own cost, of lighting the lamps, of spreading carpets therein, finally of sweeping them, for therein is, in the eyes of the Mussulmans, the principal symbol of the right of possession. This must not excite astonishment, for the sacred enclosure in which stands the tomb of Mahomet, at Medina, is swept every day by forty *ferrasch* (sweepers); it is a highly-esteemed charge amongst the Mussulmans, and which the Sultan confers upon his favourites and the chief personages of his Court. In spite of the jealous pretensions of the Greeks and Armenians, it is to the Catholic monks, protected by France, that has always legally belonged the care of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Places. It suffices, in order to prove it, to cite the firmans of the Porte. The following is a sentence delivered in 1564, at the demand of the French ambassador:

"The keys of the doors of the said place (the grotto in which Jesus Christ was born) are in the hands of the Franks, and pass successively from one to the other of those among them who arrive at Jerusalem, and that, as well before as since the taking of that city by the Sultan Selim I., up to the present date, without having passed into other hands than theirs. It is they who open to those of the Mussulmans or of the Christians who dwell in or who come to Jerusalem and who desire to visit that place (the grotto). There is no record that they have ceased to possess the said keys, nor that any one has contested with them for their possession, and have dispossessed them of the keys; they are in constant and uninterrupted possession of them from the most remote times up to the day of the date of the present act. Consequently, the undermentioned judge has confirmed the possession of the keys of the said place in the hands of the Frank nation."

A firman of Osman II. (1620) is thus expressed: "The Frankish monks, ancient exclusive possessors of the Great Church of Bethlehem and the Church of the tomb of the Virgin, have, of their full accord, granted to each of the other Christian communions, sanctuaries in the superior Church; but the inferior portion, the place wherein Jesus Christ was born (may salvation rest with him!), is the sanctuary of the Frankish monks; no other nation has any right therein; and it is forbidden to each and every nation to usurp hereafter the said place. . . . We order that no individual be permitted, Armenian or other, to say mass in the place where Jesus Christ was born, a place situate underneath the Church of Bethlehem, no more than in the cupola which is called the tomb of Jesus Christ, neither in the interior of the tomb of the Holy Virgin, nor finally in the sanctuaries which, from the old time, belonged to the Frankish monks."

The firman of 1633 is still more explicit: " . . . . To-day the Frankish monks came to produce the titles which are in their hands; we have examined them, and have recognized that they were ancient and authentic

papers; they prove that all the places above-mentioned, as well as the possession of the three doors of the grotto of Bethlehem, and the keys of those doors belonged exclusively to the Frankish monks since the conquest of Jerusalem by the Khalife Omar, and that at the epoch at which Selim I. made himself master of those Holy Places, that large number of localities has remained, as before, in the hands of the same Frankish monks. We order that the Franks have, as anciently, the possession and enjoyment of the grotto situate at Bethlehem, and known under the name of the Crib of Jesus Christ, upon which the Greeks have seized, as it is said, to the detriment of the Frankish monks, by fraud and by producing false titles; that they have the possession and enjoyment of the keys of the three doors, north, south, and west of the said grotto, and of two small gardens which belong to it; that they may have again, and in the said manner which they have had from all time, the enjoyment and possession of the *stone of unction*, situate in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the vaults of Calvary, the seven arches situate below Saint Mary, the two cupolas, great and small, which cover over the tomb of Jesus Christ; that they may have, besides the enjoyment and possession, whether at Jerusalem of the tomb of Saint Mary or monastery called Deir-al-Amoud, with its belongings and dependencies, or whether in the village of Nazareth, of the churches and monasteries, in a word of all the places of which, up to the present day, they have had uncontested possession; that henceforth neither the Greeks nor the Armenians, nor any other Christian nation trouble or disquiet them, or cause them to be troubled or disquieted . . .; that always, in the said places, and chiefly in the Calvary, the Frankish monks may exercise their worship at their will and as in the past: that they may place therein, as before, candles and torches, without any one hindering them; that, in the exercise of their worship, the prefect of the Frankish monks have, as in the past, precedence over all the monks of other nations, provided that they pay the tribute desired by ancient custom (about £500)."

Notwithstanding the tenour of that firman, a year after, as we have said elsewhere,* the charge of the Holy Sepulchre was forcibly taken away by the Greeks from the Latins, and all the efforts that France made to put an end to that usurpation failed during forty years. At length the capitulations of 1673 repaired that damage, and an article recognized to France the formal and exclusive right of protection over the Holy Places. Then the Greeks and other enemies of France had recourse to secret means little compatible with honour and the faith of Christian nations. The agents of the Porte, the Governors of Damascus and Jerusalem, greedy and corrupt individuals, had an interest in maintaining a misunderstanding which enriched them at the expense of the Greeks and Latins, and, when the ambassadors of France, Austria and Venice, moved by the complaints of the Catholics, carried their protests to the Divan, they fell into the hands of interpreters, Greeks for the most part, interested to present the matter in a light the most favourable to their co-religionists. In 1676, a *berat* of Sultan Mahomet IV. accorded to the Greeks the keys, the carpets, and the lamps of the sanctuaries of Jerusalem, on the condition of paying, annually, a rent of one thousand piastres for the keeping up of the Sultan Achmet-mosque; for therein lay a means of seduction employed by the Greeks. After having persecuted the Latins as the spies of France, and the abettors of a new crusade, they offered to the faithful rayahs of the Porte, and paying duly the kharadj, to add to their ground-rents a subvention to the profit of such and such a mosque. However, that spoliation had only a transitory character. The French ambassadors—Guilleragues, Girardin, and Chateauneuf, successively followed up that negotiation for a prize so greatly coveted by the French monarchs and unfortunately interrupted by political agitations, exterior wars, Seraglio revolutions, and the death of two of the negotiators, Guilleragues and Girardin. On the 20th of April, 1690, in the reign of Solyman II., a judgment delivered

* *Vide* vol. i. p. 207.

by the Divan replaced the Frankish monks in possession of all of which they had been deprived since 1635.* Finally, under the administration of the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pacha, the Marquis de Bonac, French ambassador at Constantinople, obtained the renewal of the firmans which accorded to France the protection of the Holy Sepulchre, whilst, by the Treaty of 1718, as has been already stated, Peter the Great stipulated only that the Russians should have the right of making pilgrimages into Palestine, without being put to ransom there or molested.

The capitulations of 1740 having solemnly confirmed the rights of France, all intrigue among the Greeks was interrupted, and peace seemed seriously established; but in 1757 things underwent a change. "Some Greek pilgrims," says M. de Marcellus in his *Souvenirs d'Orient*, "having pillaged the Catholic monastery of Jaffa, that skirmish announced a general attack. In fact, a few days afterwards, at Jerusalem, the schismatics assailed the monks and the Catholics in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, broke their lamps, and scattered their ornaments; then, armed with *procès-verbaux* purchased at great cost, they declared themselves insulted, and complained to the Divan of the pretended interruption of the Latins. At last, finding the Grand Vizier favourable to their wishes, they raised the mask, and presented a request tending to dispossess entirely the French priests from the Holy Places. The Porte had the appearance of giving serious attention to that demand, as also to the contradictory instances of the French ambassador (the same being supported by those of all the Catholic Powers), and, after conferences and examinations without result, the Grand Vizier issued a hatti-cherif, which dealt the first and most vigorous blow against the privileges of France. That decree drove out the Latins from the Church of the Virgin, from the great Church of Bethlehem, and placed under the special care and protection of the Greeks the Holy Sepulchre and several other

* C. Famin, p. 228.

sanctuaries. The protestations of the French ambassadors against that spoliation, frequently renewed in the sequel, were always unsuccessful. Every year, since that period, has seen France lose some one of those religious prerogatives; and firmans, wrested from time to time from the impartiality of some Sultans, in conferring upon the Latins slight privileges, have failed to counterbalance the influence of their stubborn adversaries."

6. *Mustapha III.—Intervention of Russia in Poland; her intrigues in the Greek Provinces of Turkey.*

During the quarrel of the Greeks and Latins on the subject of the Holy Places, Osman III. died (29th October, 1757). He had for successor his nephew, Mustapha III., son of Achmet III., then in his forty-first year. This Sultan and Khalife was an accomplished and energetic prince, an astrologer and poet, and very pious.

The new Sultan, on his accession, declared his intention of completely changing the policy of the Porte and of taking an active part in the affairs of Europe. The day on which he repaired to the Eyoub Mosque to gird on the scimitar of Osman, he stopped before the barrack of the Janissaries, and when, according to custom, he received from the hand of the aga the cup of sherbet, "Comrades," said he, "I hope, in the next spring, to drink it with you under the walls of Bender."

France rejoiced at those intentions of Mustapha, and neglected no opportunity of testifying to him that, notwithstanding the blow recently dealt against her religious privileges, nothing was changed in her relations with Turkey. Thus some Christian slaves had boarded by surprise the flag-ship of the Admiral of the Turkish Fleet and carried her into Malta (1760). The Sultan, furious at such an affront, demanded of the French ambassador restitution of the vessel, which he called his "ocean throne." He even wrote about it to Louis XV., telling him that, if he did not afford him satisfaction, he must regard his friendship "as words written in water." The Court of Versailles tried at first to make him under-

stand that France was in no way mixed up in the matter, and that it could only busy itself about it out of friendship for the Porte; then, being used to treat the Turks as children whose fractiousness might be pardoned, instead of being irritated at their pretensions and their insolence, it purchased the vessel from the Knights of Malta, and sent it in great pomp to Constantinople, where the populace received it with transports of joy. The Porte showed no gratitude for that act of good will, and refused even to send an embassy to Louis XV. to thank him for his generosity. "Gratitude," wrote Vergennes, "was never the virtue of that nation; its pride, which prompts it to believe that everything is its due, leaves it little liberty to estimate the worth of the complaisance, attention, and friendship shown it."

7. *Russian Aggression.—Designs of Catherine II.*

Turkey had now enjoyed a long interval of tranquillity: but the death of Augustus III., King of Poland, the murder of Peter III. Emperor of Russia, and the accession of the ambitious Catherine (1762) to the Imperial throne, at length compelled the Ottoman Porte to quit its inaction, and to draw closer its alliance with the Court of Versailles. Russia, during the first half of the eighteenth century, had profited by all the events, all the errors, and all the wars of Europe, with a view to overthrow the triple obstacle which hindered her from becoming completely European—Turkey, Sweden, and Poland. We have seen what efforts she had already made against Turkey, and what success she had obtained; but the conquest of the Empire of the Osmanli was not the work of a day, and preparation thereto could only be made by the destruction of Poland and Sweden. The latter had only escaped utter ruin by the Treaty of Nystadt; it was now the turn of Poland. Already Russia had preluded the subjection of that country by giving it two kings whom she had made her vassals; and, as a finishing stroke, now compelled it to elect a noble of obscure family, an old

favourite of Catherine II.—Stanislas Poniatowski—who could only sustain himself on the throne by Russian bayonets. Moreover, she had imposed upon Poland a code of laws destined to perpetuate the anarchy by which it was weakened and torn asunder through the perpetual dissensions of a turbulent aristocracy; and, finally, she sent an army to invade that distracted country when it rose in arms against such a series of outrages. "The Northern Powers," wrote the French Minister, De Choiseul, "seem tied to the car of Catherine; Sweden, by the success of cabals fomented within her own government; the Court of Berlin, by the hope of separating Austria from Russia; lastly, the English Court, through opposition to France." As for the other Powers, Austria declared herself neuter, because of the treaty of 1756, but Russia was sure of again finding in her an ally when offered a share of the spoils; France was exhausted by the disasters of the *Seven Years' War;* finally, Turkey was no longer looked upon, save as a victim which must inevitably undergo the fate of Poland. The Poles, however, implored the succour of all Europe, chiefly at the hands of Turkey and France, which had both protested against the election of Stanislas Poniatowski and the intervention of the Russians.

The natural policy of France was to oppose itself to Russian projects, and in spite of numerous errors she had followed it, and was ready to follow it still. But, at that epoch, she was emerging from the humiliation of the *Seven Years' War,* and the paramount aim of the Cabinet of Versailles was to avenge itself. Choiseul regarded as inevitable a renewal of the struggle with England, and he found an occasion for it in the troubles of North America, troubles which he fomented, and by the aid of which he desired that France should resume her power on the seas. The affairs of Poland caused him embarrassment, for he saw Russia ready to aggrandize herself; and there was only one policy which could efficaciously hinder her —accord between England and France, an accord impossible to be brought about. In fact, England not only

refused to aid France in her negotiations on behalf of Poland, but fettered the efforts made for its safety, and even threatened France with a European coalition if she declared herself openly against Russia. In that state of things, there remained to Choiseul no other part to take than to incite the Porte to afford active succour to the Poles. In fact, the French ambassador received orders to incite the Turks to war, by promising them the neutrality of Austria.

The Porte had at first shown great indifference to the fate of Poland. During the vacancy of the throne, it had contented itself with presenting a moderate note to the Russian resident (12th April, 1764), protesting against any interference in the election. When the tumults broke out, Count Vergennes, the French ambassador at the Porte, endeavoured to incite it in favour of the Polish patriots. Catherine II., stimulated by ambition and the desire of territorial aggrandizement, had not confined her views to Poland. She had also cast her eyes on some of the Turkish provinces, and had marked them out for her future prey; but so long as the affairs of Poland remained unsettled, she wished to remain at peace with the Porte, and with this view she had bought with large sums of money the votes of some of the most influential members of the Divan. The Sultan Mustapha III., a prince full of energy and good intentions, had been infamously deceived by Catherine in the affairs of Poland; for he had sworn to leave the election free, but in excluding singularly and formally Poniatowski; and Poniatowski, despite the promises of the Czarina, had been imposed upon the Poles by Russian bayonets. At the news of that monstrous election, Mustapha flew into a violent rage, exclaiming: "I will find some means of humbling those infidels!" and his Ministers declared that their master was ready to sacrifice everything to avenge himself upon Russia. But the Ottoman power, its armies, its finances, had fallen during a quarter of a century into the deepest disorder, so that the Sultan's ardour was destined to speedy extinction, as well from the opposition of his Ministers, whom Russia caused to believe that the troubles of Poland were

merely religious quarrels, as from the impossibility of drawing his people out of the sluggish apathy in which they were sunk. "What can I alone do?" he remarked to the Khan of the Crimea. "All my pachas are corrupt and effeminate. They care for nothing but kiosks, musicians, and beautiful slaves. I am labouring to bring about order in the Empire, but there is no single person willing to assist me."

Meanwhile, the agents of Catherine, by means of the religious propaganda, prepared the way for the Russian invasion in the Greek provinces of Turkey. In 1760 the Czar Peter III. had sent them zealous emissaries. One of them, a Greek of Thessaly, Papas Oglou, an artillery officer in the Russian service, traversed the shores of the Adriatic, Thessaly, and the Morea; another, the Monk Stephano, chose for the theatre of his preachings Servia and Croatia. "Neither Germany nor Hungary," said he to the rayahs, "can do anything for us; France slumbers; Poland is dying; Russia alone thinks of you, watches over you, stretches out her hand to you; for she alone is orthodox. Do you not recognize in her the fair-haired race who is destined to save you?" Animated by his harangues, his charity, and his liberality, the Christians of Albania, Servia, and Montenegro, rose in arms; but the Russians were not yet ready. The insurrection abandoned to its own strength was stamped out by the Janissaries. In the Morea, Papas Oglou had an interview with Mavro-Michalis, chief of the Maïnotes. He could not come to an understanding with him, and turned towards Benati, Bishop of Calamata, who promised to raise 100,000 Greeks at the approach of the Russians. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg ordered its fleet to sail to the Peloponnesus. But, before venturing upon the expedition, Count Orloff had an interview with Mavro-Michalis. The mountaineer neither allowed himself to be seduced by flattery nor terrified by threats. "Had'st thou at thy command all the armies of thy sovereign," said he to the Muscovite, "thou would'st still be only a slave. I am, I, the chief of a free people, and were I even marked out by destiny to be the last of my race, know

that my head would have greater value than thine." The Maïnotes confirmed those words of their chief. "We will only take up arms," said their deputy to the Czarina, "in quality of allies, and in the event of your Majesty having decided to treat with the Turks only when we shall have driven them out of Greece. We are neither slaves nor serfs, and we desire independence and liberty." A third emissary, sent into the Roumanian principalities, excited the boyards and people to insurrection "in the name of country, religion, and liberty." In a few weeks the Turks and Fanariotes were pillaged in their farm-houses, and only escaped massacre by flight. But that movement of the Moldo-Wallachians had no better result than the revolt of the Servians and Montenegrins. The Turkish troops re-established order, and the Porte, to assure itself of the fidelity of the tributary provinces, ordered the boyards and the merchants to send all their wealth to Constantinople.

Thus the Muscovite intrigues only ended by compromising the Christians. Abused by her deceitful promises, the rayahs were able to put to the proof the value of Russian protection; however, they continued to invoke in a whisper, with a stubborn faith, the name of the great Catherine, who had sworn to realize the prophecies and to restore the Byzantine Empire.

8. *State of the Asiatic Provinces.—Egypt under Ali Bey.—Syria under Daher.*

It was not only the provinces of Europe which were found to be disposed to detach themselves from the Empire; in Asia, the authority of the Porte had become more and more restrained and enfeebled. "The great pachalic of Bagdad," says an English traveller,* "has always been, except during very short intervals, really independent since Ahmed Pacha, who defended it against Nadir Shah. The Sultan only confirms the pacha, whom the people, and principally the soldiery of Bagdad, have named to

* W. Eton.

govern them despotically. However that may be, the firman, which is sent under these circumstances, always purports that the pacha has been named by the Sublime Porte to that high and important function in consideration of his merits and some signal service which he has rendered the Empire. This farce is continued by a fresh firman annually, which confirms him in his functions, as though really the Porte had the power of dismissing him. The Sultan derives no revenue from that province, the extent of which is immense. The pacha, who has always a considerable force in his pay, and which is wholly devoted to him, sends regularly every year an account of the receipts of his government. He never fails to prove that they have been entirely absorbed by the expenses of the army, which it is indispensable to maintain on a respectable footing, in order to preserve the Empire from attacks of the Persians and Arabs; by the repair of the fortresses (which formerly existed, but of which there remains not a vestige), and by other objects of the same nature. If the Porte is at war with an European Power and demands from the pacha his contingent of troops, the latter pretends that he cannot detach the smallest portion of them; that all of them are required in the interior as a defence against the Arabs; and, in order to give to that pretext an appearance of truth, he attacks some tribe. In short, the Sultan is nominally sovereign, but the pacha is really the despot of that province. In Upper Armenia, and in all the neighbouring countries, there are whole nations or tribes of people independent, who recognize neither the Porte nor any of its pachas. No more do the three Arabias recognize the sovereignty of the Sultan, who possesses therein only a few towns of small importance. The pacha of Ahiska habitually showed very little respect for the Sublime Porte, and the famous Hadji Ali Yenikli, pacha of Trebizonde, was master of all that country. He could place a considerable army in campaign, and has frequently caused the Grand Seignior uneasiness. In the country lying near Smyrna there are great Agas; these are independent lords, who

maintain armies, and often place that city under contribution. The Porte has never had more than a temporary influence over them by fomenting, from time to time, quarrels between them. All the inhabitants of the mountains, from Smyrna even to Palestine, are perfectly independent, and considered by the Turks as enemies, against whom they fight whenever they can find an opportunity. They form different nations, which have their Governors or especial lords, and who are even of different religions. Those who are near Smyrna are Mahommedans; further off, come the Kurds, the Maronites, the Druses, &c. Daher, pacha of Acre, dominated over a very extensive territory, which paid no revenue to the Porte, and might be considered as an independent State. Between the country of the Druses and that of Acre is to be found a people inhabiting the mountains, behind Tyre; these are the Metualis of the sect of Ali, such declared enemies of the Turks that they massacre all those who fall into their hands. The Sultan really possesses upon the coast of Syria only Latakia, Alexandretta, Tripoli, Sidon, Jaffa, and some other places of very little importance. The caravans which go from Alexandretta to Aleppo are compelled to pass by the Antioch route, seeing that all the country which traverses the direct road belongs to the Kurds, who would not suffer the Turks to travel through it. Such were the relations of the Asiatic provinces with the Porte during the reigns of Osman III. and Mustapha III."

The man who now had made himself master of Egypt was the Mameluke Ali Bey. By the murder or exile of his enemies, he had gained possession of Cairo. "Become depositary of all authority (1766), he resolved to aggrandize himself still further. His ambition no longer confined itself to the title of Governor or Kaïmakan. The suzerainty of Constantinople offended his pride, and he aspired to nothing less than the title of Sultan of Egypt. All his proceedings tended to that end; he drove out the Pacha, who was no more than a representative shadow; he refused the customary tribute; at length, in 1768, he coined

money with his own die. The Porte did not look upon those attacks upon its authority without indignation; but, in order to repress them, it would be necessary to make open war, and the circumstances were not favourable. The Divan at Constantinople, occupied with the affairs of Poland and the pretensions of Russia, devoted attention only to the North. The customary agency of the *capidjis* was tried; but poison or poniard always knew how to anticipate the bowstring they carried. Ali Bey, profiting by circumstances, pushed on further and further his enterprises and successes."*

The alliance of the Arab Daher doubled his forces and allowed him to brave the power of the Turks. At first Daher had for domain the small town of Safad; to it he added Tabarié towards 1735. The commerce which he carried on, following the custom of all the Governors and princes of Asia, made him estimate the advantage there would be in communicating directly with the sea. He seized upon Acre by surprise, in 1749, fortified that place and obtained pardon for his usurpation by presents distributed amongst the Divan and protestations of fidelity. "The Porte was not duped by that," says Volney; "it is too much accustomed to that manœuvring to be taken in; but the policy of the Turks is not to hold their vassals in a strict obedience; they have for long calculated that, if they made war upon all rebels, it would be endless work, a great waste of men and money, without reckoning the risks of frequent failure, and thereby emboldening them. They have therefore taken the part of patience; they temporize; they rouse up against them their neighbours, relations and children; and, sooner or later, the rebels, who all follow in the same line, undergo the same fate and end by enriching the Sultan with their spoils."

Daher obtained, in 1768, for himself and his successors, the permanent investiture of his government, and caused himself to be proclaimed Sheik of Acre, prince of princes, commandant of Nazareth, Tabarie, Safad, and of all Galilee.

* Volney, "Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, pendant les annees 1783, 1784, and 1785," tom i. p. 109.

9. *Efforts of France to decide the Porte to make war against Russia.—Letters of Louis XV.*

The ill-restrained hostility of the Greeks, Roumanians, and Slavs, the disorganization of the Imperial Government in Asia Minor, the pretensions of the Pachas of Bagdad, Acre, and Cairo to a complete independence, the impoverishment of the Treasury, the diminution of the army, the decadence of military institutions, the corruption of the generals, the insubordination of the soldiers, degeneracy in courage—all this did not presage to Turkey successes and victories, if she should engage in a struggle against Catherine. Vergennes, who knew perfectly the situation of the Empire, used much circumspection in his proceedings with the Divan, and he represented to the Court of Versailles the danger of a war for which the Ottomans were in no way prepared. But Choiseul, having learnt that Catherine was fomenting revolt in the Greek provinces, and that she projected a union of all the Northern States under her protectorate, ordered Vergennes "to employ every means necessary to determine, or, at least, to enlighten the Turkish Ministers." He sent him the most circumstantial reports upon all the enterprises of Russia, whether in Poland or in Sweden, reports that were placed directly under the Sultan's eyes. He placed at his disposal as much as four millions (francs) wherewith to corrupt the Divan. He sent to the Tartar Khan, to decide him to take some step that might bring on a war, an adroit emissary, the Baron de Tott, who understood all the languages of those countries, and whose father had already been entrusted with a similar commission. Finally, he drew up for the Sultan a long memoir "upon all the atrocities that Russia was perpetrating in the Diet of Poland, the projects the execution of which she was there consummating, and upon that real incorporation of the Republic with the Russian Empire." He reproached the Ottoman Ministers in that memoir "for making no difference between the two Courts, of which the one, an

ancient and faithful ally, made it a continual business to transmit to the Divan important truths, and the other, on the contrary, a secret and irreconcileable rival, only concerned itself with deceiving it by the grossest frauds. He added that the moment was decisive, and he told the Sultan, touching the discredit into which his Empire must necessarily fall, very novel truths for the ear of a Prince accustomed to the most outrageous flatteries; finally, he undertook, in the name of Austria, the most positive engagement that she would remain neutral in the war which it was urgent for Turkey to declare, and he offered the guarantee of France for that neutrality.

Sultan Mustapha III. was impressed by that memoir—a document too important and too authentic of which to keep him ignorant, and he decided to favour the rising of the Poles, and demand from the Czarina the evacuation of Poland. His Ministers, however, were resolved not to yield to the insinuations of France; they aided the confederated Poles, but at the same time refused them an overt protection; they demanded the withdrawal of the Russians from Poland, but winked at their delays and excuses. Vergennes, however, pressed by the orders of Choiseul, and still more by the secret correspondence of Louis XV., redoubled his solicitations to the Divan without employing corruption, and, with the assistance of De Tott, he armed some Tartar bands who were to make a useful diversion in favour of the Polish cause.

Meanwhile, M. de Vergennes was recalled, and M. de Saint Priest nominated to his post. The following is an extract from the instructions given to the latter by Choiseul, in July, 1768:—*

"The enterprises of the Russians, their atrocities, the insulting abuse which they have made of the confidence of the Turks in their violated promises, nothing has been able to arouse the Divan from its supineness The Turkish Ministers have ingeniously glossed over the most odious features of the conduct of Catherine II.; but their security

* The greater part of the diplomatic instructions here cited are drawn from the archives of the *Affaires Étrangères.*

was secretly founded upon the promises which that Empress had made them, sometimes to maintain freedom of election, sometimes to dismember none of the domains of the Republic, and sometimes to cause Poland to be evacuated as soon as the affair of the dissenters should be terminated. Facts having successively belied those assurances, the Turkish Minister finds himself now in a violent crisis, the issue of which will be probably a change of Ministry or of system. The Turks have sought to justify their inaction by asserting that the Treaty of the Pruth, which forbad the Russians mixing themselves up in the affairs of Poland, was abrogated. The Russian Plenipotentiary had, in fact, the address to prevent that treaty from being repeated in that of Belgrade, but many persons, even in Turkey, are not the less of opinion that that stipulation continues to oblige Russia, and a Grand Vizier accredited, who should be determined to make war, would know well how to cause the Treaty of the Pruth to be revived, of which they only seek to lessen the value because it condemns the system that has been adopted. The conjuncture is as pressing as it is favourable: despair, the enthusiasm of freedom and the fanaticism of religion have armed the confederated Poles; the whole nation awaits only a word from the Porte to join themselves to them. If the Porte lets the moment slip, all is lost for her; Russia aggravates the yoke of Poland and begins the great work of her ambition. The consideration of the Turkish Empire, the display alone of her strength, the declaration only of her sentiments, may yet restore Poland to the protection of the Porte, as ought to be done, to prevent the dismemberment of that kingdom, to appease the troubles of Sweden; in a word, the Porte, rendered glorious, will, by some vigorous steps, re-establish her consideration, will watch over the safety of her frontiers, will be useful to her friends of several centuries date, and will abase the pride of her natural enemies, who have for some years feigned to despise her, in making it known that they enchain her vigilance by their seductions.

"Russia, by her artifices, her haughtiness and her infi-

delities, seems to be endeavouring herself to tear away the veil of voluntary illusion which the Turks have woven for themselves up to the present moment, it is for us to hasten the waking time of the Divan by our representations; the Khan of the Tartars seconds them; the frontier officers provoke the resentment of the Porte; already it has given conspicuous marks of interest to the confederated Poles. The King's ambassador ought to neglect nothing to forward the germination and blossoming of such happy dispositions; the entreaties of the Tartar Khan will help to inflame the Turks."

These instructions were supplemented by the secret correspondence of Louis XV., of the 20th of April, 1769; for Choiseul only saw in Poland an instrument to be used against the Russians, whilst Louis XV. wished to save her for herself, for the salvation of Turkey, for the future of France. Thus, when one reflects on the sad end of that war, one cannot read in the secret correspondence the generous lines dictated by the King and written by the Count de Broglie, in which the *humiliation of Russia* is proclaimed as the policy of France, without deploring that terrible result of a policy in which the intelligence was not sustained by the will, in which the will was brutalized by the debaucheries of the *Parc-aux-Cerfs*.

At length the counsels of France prevailed with Mustapha; the Grand Vizier was changed, and the war party took possession of power.

10. *War against Russia.—Rising of the Morea.—Naval Victory of the Russians.—Operations in Wallachia.*

The Russians having redoubled their atrocities in Poland, a trick of the Tartar Khan brought about the violation of the Ottoman territory; some Cossacks, lured into pursuit of some confederates of Bar, entered Balta and there massacred indiscriminately Poles and Turks. Thereupon the populace uttered shrieks of vengeance; the Divan, fearing a revolt, made preparations for war.

The Grand Vizier, Hamsa Pacha, summoned before him the Russian ambassador Obreskoff, who sought to justify his government for the massacre of Balta. "Traitor! perjurer!" retorted Hamsa, "do you not blush in the sight of God and man at the horrors committed by your troops in a country which does not belong to you?" And he cited him to sign a declaration importing that Russia bound herself, under the guarantee of her four allies, Denmark, Prussia, England, and Sweden, to meddle no further in the election of the King of Poland, nor in the strife between the sects which was dividing that country; to withdraw her troops from the territory of the Republic; and to abstain from all attempts against Polish liberty. Obreskoff refusing to sign, he was imprisoned in the Seven Towers, and war was declared (Oct. 1768).

The Cabinet of Versailles had created for itself, upon the power which the Turks still possessed, illusions that were promptly dissipated. The Ottoman army, on entering upon the campaign, gave itself up to pillage and massacres calculated to utterly disgust any civilized Power from alliance with such barbarities; its first reverses revealed that it was only a shadow of the armies of Solyman, that it had only retained, of the stimulants to action that formerly rendered it victorious, a fanaticism as base as it was sanguinary. Artillery, fortifications, discipline, manœuvres all were wanting; of the simplest notions of geography even the Ottoman Ministers were ignorant. France strove to enlighten the Divan: De Tott addressed several memoirs to the Sultan with that view, and, to make himself understood by that prince, he was constrained to construct maps of the theatre of hostilities. Mustapha seemed stupified at those revelations, and, after much hesitation, for he dreaded the discontent of his people, he determined to submit publicly to the inspection of De Tott all the *matériel* of the Ottoman artillery. "What was the astonishment of the latter," says Rulhières, "on entering the arsenal at Constantinople! All therein seemed to announce, to the intelligent eye, the approaching ruin of that Empire, and, so to speak, by anticipation, upon the

bronze and brass, its certain fate, the defeat of its armies, the capture of its towns, and the wholesale destruction with which it was menaced."

The Khan of the Crimea, Krim Gheraï, commenced the campaign by an incursion into New Servia, and returned to Bender with 35,000 prisoners. He died shortly afterwards, and was replaced by Dewlet Gheraï. The Grand Vizier Mohammed Emin obtained, near Choczim, a slight advantage over the troops of Galitzin, who withdrew into Poland; but he was conquered in turn; the Russians besieged Choczim, defended by Potocki, one of the chiefs of the confederation of Bar. The Grand Vizier came to the succour of that place; but Galitzin blocked the passage of the Dneister to him, and his artillery from a distance decimated the Turkish army. The troops murmured; Mohammed Emin was put to death. His successor, Moldovandji Ali, threw a bridge across the river; a multitude of Tartars and Turks assailed the entrenched camp of the Russians; but a sudden rise of the Dneister loosened the bridge; the Turks fearing lest their retreat might be cut off, hastened to recross the river; then the bridge, shaken by the violence of the flood, gave way under the weight of the battalions which crossed it in disorder. Cavalry, infantry, all were precipitated headlong and engulfed in the waters, disappearing in a horrible pell-mell. Six thousand men, placed at the foot of the bridge to protect the retreat, were left isolated upon the left bank; the Russians issued forth from their entrenchments to fall upon that abandoned rear-guard; hurling them into the river and annihilating them. Whilst the Grand Vizier was bringing back the wreck of his army to the banks of the Danube the garrison of Choczim evacuated the place; Galitzin found the gates open; thence he pursued his march across Moldavia and Wallachia, without encountering any resistance (1769).

Catherine, however, not content with attacking the Ottomans upon the Dneister, despatched from the Baltic a fleet to be manned in England by sailors, officers, and even an admiral, and which sailing thence into the Medi-

terranean was to effect a rising in the Morea. The Divan manifested in presence of that peril a singular ignorance and an incredible carelessness. The French ambassador having become acquainted with the projects of Russia relative to Greece, precise in detail but through a doubtful channel, warned the Turkish Ministers, with circumspection, from fear of exposing the Greeks to persecution. That advice was received with the most ludicrous incredulity: "Tell us," said they jestingly, "how ships can get from St. Petersburg to Constantinople."

Voltaire was at this time endeavouring to awaken a spirit of Philhellenism in Frederick of Prussia and Catherine. He urged them to partition Turkey, and to restore the Greeks to independence. Frederick, however, avowed that he should prefer the town of Dantzic to the Piræus. His dominions were at too great distance from Greece to enable him to derive any material advantage from such a project. But with Catherine the case was different. Her views had long been directed towards this quarter, and for some years Russian emissaries had been striving to awaken a spirit of revolt among the Greek Christians in the Morea, the islands, and all the Turkish provinces. The conquest of Greece is said to have been suggested by a Venetian nobleman to Count Alexis Orloff; and in 1769 Orloff had concluded at Pisa a formal treaty with the Mainotes and other tribes of the Morea and of Roumelia. He had engaged to supply them with the necessaries of war, and they had promised to rise so soon as the Russian flag should appear on their coasts. Fleets were fitted out at Cronstadt, Archangel, and Revel, which, under his conduct, were to attempt the conquest of Constantinople. The British Ministry then in power approved the project, and even signified to the Cabinets of Versailles and Madrid that it should regard as an act of hostility any attempt to arrest the entrance of the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean. Choiseul, on the contrary, endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade Louis XV. to sink it, as the only way of reviving the credit of France both with the Porte and Europe. The first division of the

Russian fleet, consisting of only three ships of war and a few transports, with about 500 men on board, appeared off Port Vitolo, near Cape Matapan, towards the end of February, 1770. The Mainotes rose, but no plan of a campaign had been arranged, and the whole business degenerated into a sort of marauding expedition. Navarino alone seemed for a time likely to become a permanent conquest; but after some fruitless attempts on Modon and Coron, the Russians took their departure, towards the end of May, abandoning the Greeks to their fate. They suffered dreadfully at the hands of the Turks for their temerity, and the Morea became a scene of the most frightful devastation.

The Russian fleet, which originally consisted of twelve ships of the line, the same number of frigates, besides smaller vessels, under Admiral Spiridoff, remained in the Mediterranean till 1774; but the only action of any importance that it performed was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Tchesmeh, near the Gulf of Smyrna, after defeating it off Chios. The heroic courage of Hussein Pacha, enclosed in a badly-chosen position, could not hinder the burning of the Turkish ships. That victory (July 5, 1770) was wholly due to the skill and bravery of the British officers serving in the Russian fleet —namely, Admiral Elphinstone, Captain Greig, and Lieut. Dugdale, though all the honours and emoluments fell to Orloff, whose gross ignorance had more than once risked the loss of the fleet, and caused the failure of the ultimate object of the expedition.* Elphinstone wished to force the passage of the Dardanelles and sail to Constantinople, but Orloff prevented him. Yet that insolent favourite of Catherine II., the assassin who strangled her unfortunate husband, Peter III., received for that victory the surname of *Tchesmenski;* a palace was built for him, and in the gardens of the Empress a rostral column erected to record his naval exploit. Vain trophy of a sterile triumph! Had the Russians known how to profit by that unmerited success, they might have passed the Dardanelles, which

* Tooke's "Life of Catherine II.," vol. ii. p. 44, 45.

were not defended, and have reached Constantinople; but, in spite of the advice of the English Admiral, they wasted some fifteen days' cruising about the entrance to the Straits.

During that time, De Tott having offered the Divan to proceed to the Dardanelles, his services were accepted. All the shipwrights that French commerce had brought to Constantinople were employed in the construction of additional defences on those shores. Some of his vessels were made into fire-ships; sailors manned the batteries, and carpenters made gun-carriages. De Tott caused the gunpowder that he had procured from more than 200 European vessels to be stored in the new batteries. In a few weeks the passage was rendered inexpugnable, and the Russian fleet, after a long and useless lingering at Lemnos, set sail to leave the Mediterranean. It did not dare to show itself on the coasts of the Morea, for the men of Sparta and Messene, duped by so many unworthy manœuvres, found themselves delivered over to the vengeance of the Ottomans: Patras, Tripolitza, Megalopolis, Laconia and Messene, devastated by fierce bands, long showed traces of Mussulman reprisals exercised over the Christians, left defenceless by the Russians.

The Moldavians and Wallachians, not less than the Greeks, had to repent of their devotedness to Russia. They had offered to the Czarina to subsidize a portion of her troops, and to furnish her with 12,000 soldiers, on condition that they should retain Bender, "the key of our country," they said, "and our defence against the Tartars." The Sultan, irritated at this defection, launched a wrathful decree against the inhabitants of the Principalities, and threatened to reduce them to slavery. The Kaïmakan of Crajova, who had remained faithful to the Turks, received the title of Prince of Wallachia; he marched upon Bucharest, and drove back General Zamotin into Bessarabia (May, 1770). His successes were of short duration; the Russians resumed the offensive, seized upon Tournoul, Giurgevo, Braïla and Crajova, and forced him to retire upon the Danube. Count Romanzoff formed, with some boyards of Bucharest and Jassy, a supreme

council, charged, under his orders, with the administration of the Principalities. The disgrace of that military occupation was only compensated by the diminution of taxation: during four years the Roumanians were freed from the capitation which they were compelled to pay to the Turkish Government.

The Seraskier Khalil Pacha meanwhile held the right bank of the Danube; he crossed the river and advanced to the succour of Bender; menaced by an army of 60,000 Russians and Calmucks, led by Count Panin. The Tartars of the Crimea repulsed a strong detachment of that army, passed the Dneister and effected their junction with Khalil Pacha. Romanzoff hastened up; almost surrounded by 50,000 Tartars and 100,000 Ottomans, he hazarded battle near Cahoul, and obtained a sanguinary victory. The Turks returned to Constantinople. The Russians took Bender, Akerman, and Ismail; all the fortresses on the left bank of the Danube fell into their power (1770).

At the same time, Azof opened its gates to the Muscovites; Georgia rose in rebellion; Daher, Pacha of Acre, and Ali Bey, chief of the Mamelukes, leagued with the Russians and together attacked the Pacha of Damascus; the Empire seemed near to its dismemberment.

11. *Efforts of France in favour of Turkey.*

The Cabinet of Versailles watched events with a vivid anxiety; but it drew back from taking any part in them, on account of the hostile attitude of England, of the abounding duplicity of the conduct of Austria, the only two States that with herself had any interest in the preservation of the Ottoman Empire. England was then negotiating a commercial treaty with Russia; but the indirect aid that she gave her, together with the acclamation with which she welcomed her victories, gave reason to believe that that treaty covered a political alliance, and that, if France should proceed to declare in favour of the

Porte, her navy would be immediately attacked by that of England. As for Austria, she took the greatest care to conceal her projects from the Court of Versailles, whilst the latter, confident in the alliance of 1756, formed no design concerning the Poles and Turks without informing the former of it, and even, from the very beginning of the war, had proposed to take up arms with her in favour of both those peoples. How was it possible for the Court of Vienna to avow that it projected the partition of Poland, that it desired to make a private treaty with the Porte, that she was even seeking to withdraw France from her mediation between the Turks and the Czarina?

After the disaster of Tchesmé, the Sultan solicited the Courts of Vienna and Versailles to enter into alliance in order to arrest the progress of the Russians, and, at the same time, it sought to make with one and the other a separate treaty. Austria promptly replied: "That she could take no part in the war without the risk of extending over the whole of Europe a flame which it was her desire to quench;" she proposed, on the contrary, her mediation for peace; and she offered as conditions the re-establishment of the two belligerent parties in the *status quo ante bellum* and the evacuation of Poland by the Russians. Mustapha immediately convoked the Divan and submitted to it the question of war or peace, by communicating Austria's answer. "As for France, who had not yet replied, she seemed," he said, "disposed to sustain the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire; already she was being treated with for the acquisition of a great number of ships, and without having a positive answer from that Court, it was easy to perceive, by the solicitude of her ambassador, the approaching conclusion of an alliance." The Divan deliberated, but the Sultan was alone disposed to continue the war and to have recourse to France entirely; all the Ministers voted for peace, and secretly the mediation of Austria was requested.

England, having heard of the proceedings of the Ottoman Court, offered in turn her mediation; but partiality

for Russia was so manifest, that she experienced a refusal. "It is so extraordinary," remarked the Grand Vizier to the English ambassador, "that the Court of St. James's should offer her mediation to the Porte, whilst she has ships in the Russian fleet, that there is every reason to fear lest that solicitude may be a mask disguising inimical projects."

The Divan, however, carefully concealed from the French ambassador the steps it was taking to obtain peace, and it redoubled its eagerness for an entirely opposite negotiation, that of the alliance. On his part, M. de Saint-Priest, suspecting the weakness of the Turkish Ministers, neglected nothing to reanimate their courage to get rid of a humiliating peace, the result of which must cause embarrassment to France, and, whilst awaiting the precise answer of Choiseul, he strove to enlighten them upon the true causes of their defeats. "He reminded them," says Rulhières, "of all the old regulations fallen into desuetude, which had made the corps of the Janissaries the foremost infantry in the world; he suggested the use of the arms at that time adopted by all the nations of Europe; he obtained, by seconding with all his influence the fresh efforts made by Baron de Tott, the establishment at Constantinople of a foundry of light artillery and a school of gunners under the direction of that young foreigner. The Dardanelles, put recently into a state of defence, and the fresh dangers which threatened the Empire had then turned the gaze of the dismayed people towards that young Christian, and justified the secret confidence which the Sultan had for a long time accorded him. 'The terror was such,' he himself relates, 'that public prayers were offered up for the success of my labours.'"

The answer of the Court of Versailles arrived: Choiseul ordered M. de Saint-Priest "to pass from active hostility against the Russians to inertness, without at the same time discouraging the Turks from efforts that they were still willing to make on behalf of the confederated Poles." The alliance was refused, and an offer of mediation was

simply made to the Porte. That change of policy was brought about by the hostile attitude of England, who had just recalled her sailors from the Russian fleet and was preparing considerable armaments manifestly directed against France. Choiseul, whom a powerful party threatened to drive out of the Ministry, determined to await events, disposed to intervene actively in the Northern war, if he could occupy the British enemy in America; but instead of declaring himself openly against Russia, who would not fail to ally herself with England, he only encouraged the Turks to continue the war; he sent to the insurgent Poles an aid of 1,500 men, some engineers, officers, and subsidies; finally, he prepared in Sweden the revolution that should remove that country from Russian influence.

From the commencement of the war, the Divan, as has been said, had applied all its efforts to divert Austria from a league with Russia; in 1768, it offered her its aid to reconquer Silesia and to place the King of Saxony on the throne of Poland; in 1770, the reis-effendi Ismaïl again proposed a close alliance between Austria and Turkey against Catherine II.; but, this time, the league was destined to be concluded, no longer at the expense of Prussia, but at the cost of Poland. "If the Russians are driven out of that country," said the Turkish Minister, "it will depend entirely upon the good pleasure of the Court of Vienna of placing a king of her choice upon the throne, or of partitioning Poland with the Porte."* The Court of Vienna rejected those propositions; but it concluded, the following year, a treaty of subsidies by which the Porte engaged to furnish 20,000 purses (11,250,000 florins), to cede Little Wallachia, to free Austrian commerce from all onerous taxation, to guarantee her from attacks of the Barbary pirates. On her part, Austria promised to sign a peace, with the restitution of all the Russian conquests and the maintenance of Polish freedom. But those were only hypocritical promises. About the month of September, 1771, Frederick II.

* Report of the Austrian ambassador Thugut, of March 24, 1770.

made it known to the Imperial Court that he desired to unite a portion of Poland to Prussia, notably Pomerania, and that he would support Austria if she decided to take his part. Catherine II. sent him in her turn a project for the partition of the Turkish Empire; she reserved to herself Wallachia and Moldavia, and allotted to Austria Bosnia and Dalmatia. The Court of Vienna rejected neither of these plans. However, the Turks underwent fresh reverses, and the talk was rife already, at Catherine's Court, of going to Constantinople. The Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin becoming alarmed, offered their mediation, and as Russia dictated conditions which seemed to menace the ruin of the Ottoman Empire, they proposed to the Czarina to have done with Poland by a dismemberment, provided she would content herself with a portion of her Turkish conquests. The dismemberment of Poland was determined upon.

At the moment when these monstrous negotiations commenced, the only man who could have prevented their success—Choiseul— fell from power, disgraced and banished from Court chiefly through the influence of Madame du Barri, a new mistress of Louis XV. One of the Duke's chief objects during the whole course of his administration was to raise a navy which might be equal to contend with that of England. He longed to retaliate all the maritime disgraces which France had suffered during the Seven Years' War, and was prepared to foment by every means in his power the discontents which were already beginning to spring up between England and her American colonies.

12. *Threats of England as regarded France.—Sequel of the War.—Death of Mustapha III.*

The Duke d'Aiguillon desired, it is true, to persist in the projects of his predecessor for the deliverance of Poland and the assistance of Turkey, and he prepared armaments. But the English Ministry declared to him

that the slightest attempt in favour of the two menaced States would be regarded by her as a cause of war. France, therefore, continued her preparations more leisurely; she attempted by divers means to remove the suspicions or deceive the vigilance of England; but in vain: the Court of St. James's notified to her that it would not suffer any other foreign nation to intervene in the quarrel. Thanks to these threats, Poland underwent her first dismemberment, and England had the disgrace of having covered the three spoilers of that kingdom, without any profit accruing to herself. And how did Louis XV. use his power, the most absolute ever seen? He allowed, without a pang of remorse, the great political crime of that century to be accomplished, the partition of Poland, of which Austria, Prussia, and Russia shared the bleeding members: and then, the Court of Versailles, feigning indignation at the dismemberment, was desirous of avenging itself upon Austria by invading the Netherlands. England manifested great exasperation at that velleity of conquest; she threatened to join the league of the three Sovereigns of the North, and thus compelled her enemy to abandon her project. Aiguillon then, wishing at least to protect Sweden, which was equally menaced by Russia, armed a flotilla at Brest. Thereupon the English Cabinet immediately demanded explanations from him, to which he replied by alleging the necessity of checking Russian ambition which was threatening all Europe. Lord North rejoined that, "notwithstanding the desire of the King of England to avoid everything which might disturb the good understanding between the two Courts, if a French fleet appeared in the Baltic, it would be followed by an English fleet." D'Aiguillon complained that England always met his friendly protestations by menaces, and he declared that France could not abandon Sweden. The like answer was given him; thereupon he caused the armament at Brest to be suspended; but, at the same time, had another in preparation at Toulon. The English Cabinet directly declared to him that "the prohibition made to France against sending a fleet into the Baltic

applied equally to the Mediterranean; that, if the French fleet set sail, the English fleet would immediately follow its example, and that finally England could not consent to France having a fleet in either one or other of those seas. The disarmament of the Toulon fleet was the immediate result. "Thus," says an English historian, "thanks to the happy manifestation of an energetic resolution, England not only avoided the misfortune of a war, but further served the cause of her Russian ally."

In 1771, however, the Russians failed in their attempts upon Trebizonde and Georgia; their flotilla, badly handled, could not get out of the Sea of Azof. Upon the banks of the Danube the successes were divided; but in the Crimea, the Ottoman domination was completely reversed. Prince Dolgorouki entered as conqueror at Perekop, at Taman, Kaffa, Kertch and Yenikale; he proclaimed the independence of the peninsula under the Russian suzerainty, and installed Scherin Bey in quality of Khan of the Crimea.

At the instigation of Prussia and Austria an armistice was concluded at Giurgevo and a congress opened at Fockshani. The plenipotentiaries of the Czarina stipulated that the Porte should recognize the independence of the Tartars and freedom of navigation and commerce in the Black Sea. The Turks rejected those conditions, which, in relation to the Crimea, were contrary to the principles even of Islam. "To the Sultan," they said, "appertained the religious sovereignty of all the Sunnites; if he did not exercise it over India, Bokhara and Morocco, it was on account of the too great distance of those countries; but he would neglect his duties as Khalife by abdicating his authority over the Tartars." The conferences at Fockshani had no result.

Another congress was held at Bucharest, and the Czarina sent thither her ultimatum (15th Feb., 1773), which demanded: "1. As a guarantee for the independence of the Tartars, the cession of Kertch and Yenikalé to Russia; 2. Freedom of navigation in the Black Sea and in the Archipelago for ships of war and merchant vessels; 3. The restoration of the strongholds of the Crimea to the

Tartars; 4. The installation of Gregory Ghika, Voïvode of Wallachia, then a prisoner to the Russians, in the hereditary principality, on condition of a tribute payable every three years; 5. The cession of Kilbourn to Russia and the demolition of the defences of Oczakof; 6. The title of Padishah for the Russian Sovereign; 7. The right of protecting the votaries of the Greek religion in the Ottoman Empire." The Turks were indignant. "When your Czar Peter," said one of the plenipotentiaries, "was reduced to eat bark in the forest of Husch, the Sublime Porte abstained from putting him to death or taking him alive; it contented itself with the restitution of Azof." But the Czarina was not tempted to imitate the fault committed by the Turks in the treaty of the Pruth: the ultimatum was maintained. The Divan rejected it, upon the instances and almost at the command of the Ulemas.

Sultan Mustapha earnestly desired peace; but he desired to obtain it on honourable conditions; irritated by the insolent pretensions of Catherine, he resolved to resume hostilities vigorously. His Ministers contended zealously with one another to raise and equip troops at their own cost. It was along the Danube that every effort of the war was directed. The Russians sustained a first check at Rustchuk; they failed equally at the siege of Silistria (30th May, 1773). They basely avenged themselves of their defeat by massacring at Basaradschik, a defenceless town, the women, old men and children, whom they dashed to death against the walls.* Speedily, at the approach of the Ottoman troops, they withdrew "with such precipitation," says Von Hammer, "that the Turks found the flesh-pots on the fires with the meat half-cooked." Finally, General Unger having besieged Varna, he was repulsed.

Fortune was not less favourable to the Turks in Syria and in Egypt. Ali Bey had entered into relations with the commander of the Russian squadron in the Mediterranean, and had been supplied by him with troops and munitions of war. Notwithstanding those reinforcements, he

* "Austrian Military Journal," vol. iii. p. 98.

was defeated under the walls of Cairo by Ebn Schel, and forced to take refuge with his ally the Pacha of Acre, Daher, to whom the Russian fleet furnished also arms and provisions. Osman Pacha, Governor of Damascus, supported by the Druses, gave battle to Daher; the action took place upon the coast, and a Russian frigate was able to assist the operations of the Pacha of Acre; the Druses took to flight; the Russians bombarded Beyrout and burned 300 houses. The victorious army marched upon Jaffa, which defended itself courageously and only surrendered in February, 1773. The Mameluke chief Ali then thought of going back to Cairo. In the early part of April, letters having the signatures of his friends reached him, in which they told him that they were tired of Ebn Schel, and that, to expel him, they only awaited the presence of Ali Bey. Instantly, the latter determined upon his departure; and, without giving the Russians time to arrive, he set out with his Mamelukes and 1,500 Safadiens, commanded by Osman, Daher's son; but he was unaware that the letters from Cairo were a ruse of his enemy. In fact, have entered some way into the desert which separates Gaza from Egypt, he encountered near Salahie a body of 1,000 picked Mamelukes. That corps was led by the young Bey Mourad, who, smitten with the wife of Ali Bey, had obtained her from Ebn Schel, in the event that he might have to deliver up the head of that illustrious but ill-fated man. Scarcely had Mourad descried the dust that announced the enemy afar off, than, rushing upon them with his troop, he threw them into disorder; to complete his good fortune, he encountered Ali Bey in the *mêlée*, attacked and wounded him on the forehead with a sabre stroke, then seized and conducted him to Ebn Schel. The latter, encamped some two leagues in the rear, received his old master with that exaggerated respect so familiar to the Turks, and that sensitiveness which perfidy knows how to feign. He gave him a magnificent tent, recommended that the greatest care should be taken of him, avowed himself a thousand times his slave, kissing the dust upon his feet; but, on the

third day, that performance terminated in the death of Ali Bey, due, according to some, to the consequences of his wound, according to others, to poison.* That event delivered the Turks from a formidable enemy. Four Russian officers and the head of Ali Bey were sent by Ebn Schel to Constantinople in testimony of his fidelity.

It was in the midst of these unhoped-for successes that death surprised the Sultan, at the moment when Mustapha was about to place himself at the head of the army of the Danube (Jan. 1774). He deserved to be regretted by his subjects for his activity, for his constancy, and by a wise spirit of reform. If his reign was not a happy one, he had at least the honour of opposing the encroachments of Russia and of protesting by arms against the subjection of Poland. He cannot be reproached for the inevitable tergiversations that were imposed upon him, in the face of Muscovite ambition, the perfidious counsels of Austria and of Prussia, the feebleness of France, his long-tried but impotent ally, and above all the disorganization of the Ottoman Empire. He had the good-will but not the strength and genius required for repairing the faults of his predecessors, to regenerate his people and to resist the ascendancy of Russia. Thus, in spite of his courageous and persevering efforts, in spite of the advantages obtained by his arms in the campaign of 1773, he left to his brother, Abdul Ahmed, a burthensome inheritance.

The Russians dominated in the Crimea, in Moldavia, in Wallachia; Heraclius, Prince of Georgia, was sold to Catherine; Ahmed, Pacha of Bagdad, only recognized nominally the suzerainty of the Sultan; Daher, supported by the Arab tribes, preserved his independence; Egypt, under the authority of the Mamelukes, kept up only an apparent fidelity. In Albania, Mahmoud, Pacha of Scutari, was in open revolt; and Ali, Pacha of Janina, was laying the foundations of his power. Such was the state of the Empire when the sceptre of Othman fell into the hands of a prince who, during half a century had dwelt within the inmost recesses of the Seraglio, and who

* Volney, vol. i. p. 125.

had passed his days in copying the Korân or making bows and arrows.

13. *Accession of Abdul Ahmed.—Treaty of Kaïnardji.*

Abdul Ahmed, the youngest son of Achmet III., could not, according to custom, pay to the Janissaries the "earnest-money" of the accession: money was even wanting for the most urgent necessities of the State. Its officials, however, succeeded in mustering an army of 40,000 men upon the right bank of the Danube. But the Sultan did not place himself at its head: he contented himself with witnessing the artillery practice and the European manœuvres which Baron de Tott directed. Russia, on her side, had made formidable preparations; after her failures at Rustchuk, Silistria, and Varna, she desired to strike a heavy blow and terminate the war by a decisive campaign. Romanzoff, seconded by Souvarof and Kramenski, forced the passage of the Danube, succeeded in turning the front of the Ottoman army and separated it from Varna, which contained all its magazines. A Russian division carried by assault the camp of Korlidsche, defended by 25,000 Turks (16th June, 1774). Thenceforth panic seized the Ottoman army. The reis-effendi confronted the Janissaries who were fleeing headlong, and tried to lead them back into action, when a musket-shot, which struck him down lifeless, was the only reply vouchsafed to his exhortations.

With such soldiers to sustain the struggle was impossible. France advised the Porte to discontinue a disastrous war, in which she could not lend the slightest aid without bringing down the arms of all Europe upon her, and she proposed her mediation. Catherine refused it at first, through resentment against France, regarding it, she said, as the depth of humiliation, after her victories to owe peace to a Court which had been so contrary to all the designs of her Government; she pretended even to allot the mediation to England, which had been so favourable to her. But the Turks obstinately refused to accept any

other mediation than that of France; the Czarina yielded, and peace was concluded at Rustchuk-Kaïnardji, in Bulgaria, 10th July, 1774.

By that fatal treaty the Crimea was declared independent of the Porte, the navigation of the Black Sea was accorded to the Russians; and Kilbourn, Yenikalé, Kertch, Azof, —that is to say, the keys of the Black Sea, of the Crimea, of the Sea of Azof (*Palus Mœotis*); and, moreover, Great and Little Kabardia in the Caucasus were ceded also. Poland, in whose behalf Turkey had undertaken that war, had not even her name mentioned in the treaty, and all the anterior treaties, which stipulated the right of the Porte's protection over that kingdom, were abolished. Moldavia and Wallachia were more fortunate: in restoring them to Abdul Ahmed, Catherine exacted the solemn promise of a general amnesty and a diminution of tribute. But, by a clause which has proved fatal to it, the Porte consented:—"That, according to the circumstances in which the Principalities and their *sovereigns* shall find themselves, the Ministers and the Court of Russia may speak in their favour, and she promises to have regard for those representations, conformably to the amicable consideration and regard that the Powers have one towards another." Such is the origin of the Protectorate which Russia has long exercised in Roumania (Moldo-Wallachia). Article 7 has, as the precedent or rather pretext, opened a wide door to Russian usurpation. "The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its Churches; and also it permits the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make, on all occasions, representations, alike in favour of the new Church at Constantinople as for those who officiate in it, promising to take them into consideration as made by a confidential person of a neighbouring and sincerely friendly Power." This was the origin of the Crimean War of 1854.*

* The expression of protecting the Christian religion and its Churches being taken in a vague and generical sense, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has pretended that it might apply to the subjects of the Porte, which would implicitly say that, in the case in which the rayahs professing the Christian religion should complain of being ill-treated, Russia would have the right of

"Since the peace of Kaïnardji," says Von Hammer, "Russia has been the oracle of the diplomatic negotiations pursued with the Porte, the arbiter of peace or war, the soul of the most important affairs of the Empire." As to France, her influence received a mortal blow from it. The Treaty of Kaïnardji fatally imposed upon her, so to speak, a retrograde course, in giving her a rival in the Protectorate of the Christians in the East, a rival who, having over her the advantages of position of race and origin, could bear away from her successively all her privileges; a rival whose projects she was no longer able to baffle, since, henceforth, Russia could keep her in check, not only by Austria and Prussia, but also by England, the duped accomplice in the murder of Poland and the dismemberment of Turkey.

demanding explanations and making remonstrances to bring back the Porte to the observance of the stipulated pact. But the spirit of that treaty is nowise in accord with that rigorously literal interpretation. Russia then restored to the Porte certain Christian provinces of which she had stripped it in the last war, such as Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia; it was, therefore, natural that it should stipulate a condition of oblivion of the past and good treatment of the inhabitants of those provinces which their submission to the Russian Government had compromised. Whatever may be the true sense of that article, it must still be, that, if the Ottoman Government had engaged to protect its Christian subjects and their Churches, it had stipulated that it should protect them itself, and had not alienated that right of sovereignty to the profit of a foreign Power. Famin, "Histoire de la rivalité et du protectorat," &c.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE PEACE OF KAÏNARDJI TO THE PEACE OF JASSY (1774-1792).

1. *Consequences of the Peace of Kaïnardji.— Convention of* 1779.

THE mischievous consequences of the Treaty of Kaïnardji did not make themselves immediately felt in France. It was even during the fifteen years which followed that treaty that French commerce in the Levant attained its greatest prosperity. That commerce employed 20,000 sailors, 700 vessels, and was distributed amongst seventy-eight mercantile firms. M. de Saint-Priest gave it a wide development in establishing, between the ports of the Black Sea and those of the Mediterranean, relations that had not existed until then save between Constantinople and the Archipelago. Eventually, as the wealth-seeking traders of that time were harassed by the pirates who infested the coasts of Greece and particularly the ports of Corinth and Megara, the French fleets, at the request of the Porte, hunted down those robbers, and for several years served in the capacity of police of the whole Archipelago.

That commercial prosperity, the rights expressly conceded to France of its official protection of the Holy Places, her perseverance in enlightening the Porte upon the causes of its disasters, together tended to produce a tension of the league of the rival Powers inimical to the policy of France. Thus the Government of Louis XVI., inheritor of the embarrassments created by the partition of Poland and by the Peace of Kaïnardji, found that it had a hard task to accomplish; it found the conditions of the European equilibrium changed. Her diplomacy had to

struggle against a system of alliances and intrigues which even went so far as to attack the preponderance that France had so long exercised; at length, it was completely paralyzed in its efforts by internal discords; much indecision, therefore, and very little success attended the attempts it made to preserve its position in the East.

The Court of Versailles had merely advised the Turks to conclude the Peace of Kaïnardji to snatch them from the certain ruin then impending, for them to gain time and afford them an interval wherein to strengthen themselves against their enemies; but the Divan had relapsed into its apathy, and it had done nothing either to put the frontiers into a state of defence or to improve the army.

The Capudan-pacha Gazi Hassan, however, who had distinguished himself during the last war at Tchesmé, at Lemnos, and in several other conflicts, undertook to restore the Ottoman navy. He recruited sailors from the Barbary States and upon the littoral of the Adriatic gulf; he also caused a great number of ships to be repaired. But, in order to succeed in placing the fleet upon a respectable footing, he was compelled to display an inexorable severity. He caused every vessel to be recaulked, ordering the captains, under pain of death, to be present at that operation until it was finished. One day, a certain captain took an opportunity of going to his own abode about a quarter of a mile distant. The Capudan-pacha came in the interval to examine the works, and having some observations to make touching the refitting of the absent captain's vessel, he enquired for him; he was told that he had gone homewards. The Pacha seated himself upon a carpet, sent one of his suite to bring his musket and another to fetch back the captain. As soon as that unfortunate man came near, he took aim at, and shot him dead, without addressing a single word to him. "Let him be buried," he then said, "and let all the other captains follow him to his grave; the work shall be suspended during their absence."* The Ottoman fleet, re-equipped, cruised about the Mediterranean to secure the submission of certain provinces. It

* Eton, vol. i. p. 109.

treated rigorously the Christians of the Morea and the Archipelago, ever suspected of connivance with Russia. The Sheik Daher was besieged both by sea and land in the city of Acre; he perished whilst seeking to escape among the mountains of Safad. But nothing was attempted against the other Pachas of Asia who enjoyed a complete independence.

Russia meanwhile followed up the results of the Treaty of Kaïnardji. "In releasing the Tartars from Ottoman domination, she had contrived to keep in her pay their turbulent hordes. Ere long she was desirous of intermeddling in the election of their Khans. By means of the divisions which she had stirred up in the family of the descendants of Zenghis Khan, her influence secured the election of Sahim Gheraï; and that coerced election, like that of Poniatowski, promised the same results. The Tartars were divided; Russian troops advanced to pacify the Crimea, as they had pacified Poland. The dispossessed Khan sought an asylum in Constantinople; he solicited aid; he offered to render to the Ottoman Porte a homage which it had lost; but the faith due to treaties, prudence or perhaps corruption prevailed in the Divan over resentment of that insult, and the candidate of the Russians remained in possession of an authority which he submitted thenceforward to their vassalage."*

At the same time, Catherine, who had abandoned Wallachia and Moldavia with regret, intrigued in those provinces with the view of rendering them independent. She pretended to have the right of preventing the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia from being deposed unreasonably. To those claims she added some vague complaints touching the restrictions which the Porte placed upon Russian commerce. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg only raised at once so many unjust pretensions in order to obtain that which it most desired; and, as it abated those that it had advanced over Wallachia-Moldavia, the Porte thought to gain much by acquiescing in the nomination of the *protégé* of the Empress in the Crimea, on the conclusion

* Mallet du Pan, *Du peril de la balance politique*, p. 110.

of a new treaty of commerce which endangered the future security of Constantinople, and on that of an additional convention which was presented as the seal of a lasting reconciliation (10th March, 1779).

That explanatory convention of 1779 was signed by the advice of France: the Court of Versailles represented to the Divan the danger of a struggle for which it was not prepared, in which it could render Turkey no aid, and which the Russians sought for ardently. England, then at war with France and the object of the hatred of all the maritime Powers, vainly endeavoured to hinder it. Besides, the Czarina averted the attention of Europe from the true aim of her policy by her negotiations for the freedom of the seas, and, continuing secretly her enterprises against Turkey, she became a close ally of the Emperor Joseph II., with whom she projected a partition of the Ottoman Empire.

2. *Conquest of the Crimea by the Russians.*

The Court of Versailles had not been wholly disabused from the alliance of 1756, by the complicity of Austria in the partition of Poland; it hoped to bring it back to its true interests in demonstrating that that alliance, into which Prussia could enter, was the salvation of Europe against the maritime ambition of England and the continental aggression of Russia; it entered, therefore, into a most active correspondence with the Court of Vienna, to divert it from its projects against Turkey. But Joseph II. was already irrevocably bound to the Czarina; nevertheless he feigned to listen to the counsels of France. "I assure you," said he to the French ambassador, "that I spare myself no pains to repeat to Catherine everything calculated to defer a war with Turkey; but that woman has a singular will of her own and which nothing stops." Finally, Louis XVI. caused the question to be put to him as to the line of conduct he would take if war should break out. "If Russia makes war against the Porte," he

replied, "I will make it also *the interest of Austria to extend her territory in proportion to that which Russia may acquire.*" M. de Vergennes, Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied, "That consideration would furnish an example the fatal error of which perhaps not a century of war would expiate. If the fear lest the Russian power should one day gravitate over the Austrian power is a sufficient title for her to compensate herself at the expense of an innocent third State, ought one not to anticipate that others, fearing with too much reason lest the Austrian power should gravitate in its turn over theirs, may derive authority from the example of the two Imperial Courts, to procure for themselves accretions and compensations at the expense of whomsoever they may belong? Where would Europe be then if that monstrous system should be about to accredit itself?"

Vergennes then endeavoured to bring the King of Prussia into the alliance of France, in pointing out to him the dangers of the policy of Joseph II., "the most monstrous system," he said, "to which ambition has ever given birth, and the most dangerous for the surety of all nations and of France in particular. It is clear," he added, "that the Emperor is resolved to concur in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and to take his share of the spoils. The King has in vain done everything that lay in his power to enlighten the prince as to the peril of that enterprise. The sole means of preventing it is agreement with the King of Prussia to overawe his Imperial Majesty." That proposition was destructive of the alliance of 1756; but Vergennes excused himself touching it by saying with some reason: "The alliance with the Emperor, notwithstanding the wounds it has inflicted upon the esteem of France, had in itself a real advantage—that of ensuring the tranquillity of the Continent; but so soon as that result was destroyed, the alliance found itself broken up."

Frederick, with his usual duplicity, listened to the propositions of France, thoroughly decided not to accept them. For all that, the Czarina grew uneasy: profiting

by the moment at which the Court of Versailles, emerging from the struggle with England, had still its forces dispersed in every quarter of the globe, she resolved to invade the Crimea.

Shahim Gheraï had been only raised to the dignity of Khan in order to be the instrument and shortly the victim of Catherine's ambition. Scarcely was he on the throne, ere she had sent to him, under the title of ambassador, a spy charged with the task of rendering him hateful to his people, to bribe the disaffected and to stir up civil war. The Tartars held the Russians in horror, both as to their customs and their government. At first, the unfortunate Shahim had been persuaded to solicit the favours of the Court; he had obtained the cordon of Saint Anne and the grade of Colonel in the Imperial Guards, a subaltern honour that degraded him in the eyes of the Tartars. The Russian agents had inspired him with a taste for their manners, their frivolities, their debauchery, their barbarity, their prodigal follies and their military discipline. They made him conceive, when already tottering upon his throne, the idea of having a navy and of dominating upon the Black Sea; and, whilst the prodigious increase of his expenditure raised murmurs, the Russian ambassador, indefatigable in his twofold intrigue, ceased not to encourage at once the follies of the Khan and the plots of the *mourzas* (nobles), until a general revolt breaking out, reduced the terror-stricken Khan to flee to Taman and implore succour of the Russians; it was where perfidy awaited him (1783). Then on every side, even to the centre of the Crimea, the troops penetrated that had been long mustered for that expedition. Blood flowed, but not in battles: no victory honoured that conquest; it was purchased by conscriptions and proclaimed upon scaffolds. Thousands of noble Tartars were stoned or massacred under the eyes of the Khan, by those even who had driven them into revolt. The unfortunate Shahim and his subjects saw too late the effect of their discords and the snare into which they had fallen. Long deceived by promises, compelled to give up the sovereignty he had

abased, sent prisoner to Kalouga, reduced to misery the most profound, exposed to the most barbarous treatment, he was at last abandoned to Ottoman vengeance. Thrust forth beyond the frontier, he was seized by the Turks and carried to Rhodes, where, in spite of the efforts of the French Consul, he was decapitated.*

In order to justify that sanguinary usurpation, the Czarina published a manifesto. "It was," she said, "the love of good order and tranquillity that had brought the Russians into the Crimea. . . . The restlessness natural to the Tartars had weakened and ruined the edifice which the beneficent care of Catherine had raised for their happiness, in procuring them liberty and independence under the authority of a chief elected by themselves. . . . In fine, the expenditure occasioned by the necessity of remaining always in arms for the protection of the Crimea, and the necessity of putting an end to these troubles, compel her to re-unite to the Russian Empire the Crimean peninsula, the island of Taman and all the Kouban, as a rightful indemnity for the losses and expenses undergone to maintain therein peace and happiness."†

Indignant at this infamous violation of the rights of nations, the Turks flew to arms, and the Divan decided in trembling to recommence the war. The Court of Versailles hastened to interpose its mediation; it saw in that war the certain loss of Turkey, for Joseph II. was ready to enter upon a campaign, Frederick was encouraging, by his apparent indecision, the projects of Catherine, and England burning to avenge herself upon the ally of France for the loss of her American colonies. By dint of entreaties the French Cabinet decided the Turks to make fresh sacrifices, to a new humiliation; and the Porte, submitting to throw down the arms of which it could only make use to its own destruction, testified by that act of sorrowful confidence, more forcibly than when in time of prosperity the alliance of the two States made Europe

* "Des Progrès de la puissance Russe," p. 275.
† "Recueil de Martens," tom. iv. p. 444.

tremble, that France was alone its close and disinterested friend. Russia thus acquired (1784) the sovereignty of the Crimea and of the Kouban, fresh rights over the Black Sea and other advantages calculated to bring about the future dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

3. *Change in the Policy of France.—The Empress Catherine's project of a new Eastern Empire.*

That last humiliation of Turkey was productive of a very serious change in the political ideas of France in relation to the East.

It has been shown that, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, at the time that Russia commenced to weigh in the balance of Europe, an opinion was formed favourable to the Russian alliance, and which, considering the Ottoman Empire as destined to inevitable ruin, desired that France should prepare herself to share in the spoils. The continual defeats of the Turks, their decadence which nothing could arrest, the blindness with which they persisted in their ignorance and their apathy, gave credit to that opinion; and the fate of Poland seemed to demonstrate that, if France allowed herself to be surprised by the dismemberment of another of her allies by the northern league, she fell back into the rank of the secondary States. The French ambassadors at Constantinople warned the Government of that state of things, and advised a change of policy.

The Russian Empress now seemed to have taken a step towards realizing her project of a new Eastern Empire. Adopting Voltaire's idea of erecting a new Greek kingdom on the shores of the Black Sea, the recently-acquired possessions received the names of Taurida and Caucasia, and Kherson was erected in the midst of a desert as the capital of the new kingdom, but on a site so ill-chosen that it was soon eclipsed by Odessa. Potemkin, dignified with the pompous name of the "Taurian," was made Governor-

General of the conquered provinces, and Grand-Admiral of the Black Sea.

The relations between Russia and the Porte continued to be strained. Disputes arose respecting the Turkish Government in Georgia, Moldavia and Wallachia, and on other points; whilst the Porte on its side accused the Cabinet of St. Petersburg of repeated violations of the Treaty of Kaïnardji.

The Ministry of Louis XVI., without believing in the immediate ruin of the Ottoman Empire, was anxious to hold itself prepared for that great catastrophe, and not the less directed its efforts towards enlightening the Turks and arresting the ambition of Russia. Emissaries were sent to the Levant (1784) charged to find out the points of which France should take possession in the event of a general war. It had turned its eyes especially upon Candia and Egypt. Choiseul Gouffier, who succeeded to Saint-Priest in 1784, was specially instructed to take every means possible to ensure the preservation of the Turkish Empire; officers, engineers, builders and mechanicians of every kind were placed at his disposal; a small corps of French soldiers was given him to instruct the Turks in European tactics; finally, he succeeded in obtaining the signature of a fresh convention between the Porte and Russia which put an end to their gravest differences. But Catherine disquieted herself very little at these efforts; she knew France to be embarrassed in her finances, fermented by the approach of a revolution, and undecided in her policy with regard to Turkey. She had just given even more force to the opinion of those who reprobated the Turkish alliance, by signing with France a very advantageous commercial treaty, a treaty which was universally regarded as a change of system at Versailles, that is to say, a tendency to approach the Russians and abandon the Turks. Thus, confident in her success, in the alliance of Austria, in the immobility of Prussia and England, she manifested openly the desire to drive the Turks out of Europe, and to re-establish the Empire of the East. Her intrigues in Greece, her pretensions to Georgia, her hostilities against the Caucasian

peoples, the education of a host of young Greeks brought to St. Petersburg, the name of Constantine borne by one of her grandsons, the creation of a formidable fleet at Kherson and at Sevastopol, unveiled her secret designs; and she carried insolence so far as to intervene directly in the Ottoman administration, by demanding the dismissal of Pachas and officials who displeased her. At the moment when she had just signed her commercial treaty with France, she made a pompous journey to the Crimea, found there her obsequious ally, Joseph II., with whom she discussed the proximate re-establishment of the republics of Athens and Sparta, and at Kherson passed under a triumphal arch which bore these words: *The road to Byzantium.* That journey caused a great sensation in Europe, and every one thought that the Czarina was disposed to recommence war.

The Emperor Joseph paid assiduous court to the "Semiramis of the North" (as Voltaire, by way of equivocal compliment, ironically and sardonically called her), and every morning attended her levée as a private person. Future projects against Turkey were cautiously and suspiciously discussed by them during that journey, but no definite plans were formed, and neither sovereign desired immediate war. At the same time, the Russians violated the last convention concluded by the mediation of France; their incursions in the Caucasus recommenced; their ambassador used threatening words. The Sultan, his Ministers, and the people, indignant at so many outrages, clamoured for war. The Czarina, who had been scared from continuing her journey to Kinburn by the apparition of a Turkish fleet in the Liman, had scarcely returned to St. Petersburg, when the Russian Minister at Constantinople was arrested and flung into the Seven Towers (10th August, 1787). At the same time war was declared against Russia.

The Cabinet of St. James's had been grievously humiliated by the Cabinet of Versailles on account of the declaration of independence on the part of the American colonies, and by the neutral league for the freedom of

the seas; it was moreover irritated against the latter by reason of the prosperity of French commerce in the Levant, as well as by the Treaty made with Russia which deprived England of the monopoly of the Baltic Sea. The Cabinet of St. James's therefore sought to attack its Gallic rival in all its political influences, alliances, and commercial interests. It stirred up the Divan to reject every method of conciliation. In concert with Prussia, the Porte was made to believe that Russia drew back through fear, that the opportunity had arrived for the Turks to resume their conquests, and that Russia must be surprised by a vigorous aggression. Moreover, England, it was alleged, had promised to restrain Austria, to arm Sweden and Poland, and to give aid with the whole of her navy. In thus driving Turkey into war, England, the French Minister asserted, had but one object—to profit by the internal embarrassments of France and cause her to lose either her influence in the Levant if she abandoned the Turks, or her Treaty with Russia if she sustained them. The Porte, eager to take up arms, heeded not those representations, and refused to adopt the line of conciliation proposed by France (August, 1787).

4. *War with Russia renewed.—Death of Abdul Ahmed.—Selim III.* (1792).—*Continuation of the War.—Peace of Jassy* (1792).

Austria forthwith took part with Russia; Sweden pronounced for the Porte; England and Prussia co-operated, but remained quiescent. As for France, which then the Cardinal de Brienne tried to govern, that country became greatly alarmed at the event of a war by which it saw England about to envelop Europe in flames in order to deprive France of her influence over Turkey, Sweden, and Poland, and thus play the part she had formerly enacted, and reduce her to nothing more than a second-rate Power. But that war France was not permitted to join in, for she was already feeling the throes of the most

terrible of revolutions seething within her! The opinion therefore favourable to the Russian alliance broke forth openly; and the most brilliant expression of that opinion was the work of Volney, entitled: "*Considérations sur la guerre présente entre les Turcs et les Russes*," a work in which he disparaged, beyond measure, the alliance of the Porte, showed that the time for that alliance had passed away, counselled the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire in concert with Russia, and stirred up France to possess herself of Egypt. At the same time, Choiseul Gouffier, who was so much carried away, through his admiration of ancient Greece, as to see only in the Turks the persecutors of the descendants of the Hellenes, called the attention of Christendom to the miserable condition of the Greeks: he contended that the Morea should be made an independent State under the protection of France. "To regenerate the Ottomans is an impossibility," was an assertion heard on all sides; "they themselves believe that the moment of their destruction has arrived. The alliance of the Porte can no longer enter into combinations for the equilibrium of the Great Powers. Ought we, in order to aid such a people, to carry the theatre of war as far as the Black Sea, and ourselves cover the capital of that Empire? Could we make such efforts in face of the rival Powers interested to destroy our commerce in the Levant? Should we not rather, since a dismemberment is certain, take possession of the best Turkish ports, and seize upon, in Egypt and Syria, the true sources of abundance and of commerce?" The Cabinet of Versailles suffered itself to be shaken by that opinion; striving to balance the manœuvres of the Cabinet of St. James's by its negotiations, it proposed, in concert with Austria and Spain, on the one hand its mediation to the Porte, on the other hand to Russia an alliance of which peace with the Turks should be the first condition, and which should have for its chief object the arrest of the warlike designs of England and Prussia. Catherine II., seeing in these propositions the tendency of France to enter entirely into her policy, accepted them eagerly; but the Divan rejected

the mediation offered it; England threatened war, and the Cabinet of Versailles was constrained to suspend its negotiations.

The war began with a fruitless attack by the Turkish fleet upon Kinbourn, heroically defended by Suvaroff (September 24). The winter was passed in further negotiations, in the persistent attempts of France to mediate a peace, in which she would probably have succeeded, had not a courier of M. de Segur, the French Minister at St. Petersburg, who was the bearer of Catherine's approval of a scheme of conciliation, been assassinated on the road. The Czarina's generals had at first very little success. Their army traversed the Tartar provinces; but "famine, pestilence—all the calamities of a long and cruel war, had desolated them. It was necessary to transport supplies from immense distances: the slightest success caused torrents of blood to flow; the provinces, exhausted, could no longer furnish new levies; the Siberian exiles were even compelled to enter the ranks." Kherson and Kinbourn, however, briskly attacked by the Pacha of Oczakof were defended by Suvaroff, who sustained three assaults and repulsed the Turks. Romanzoff and the Prince of Saxe-Coburg captured Choczim; and Potemkin, with 80,000 men, besieged Oczakof (December, 1788). The Capudan-pacha Gazi-Hassan having hastened to rescue that town, whilst in pursuit of the Russian fleet allowed himself to be decoyed to the mouth of the Dneister, where, in a fierce fight, he lost fifteen ships and 11,000 men. Then Oczakof, almost defenceless from its decayed fortifications, was vigorously pressed by an assault under command of Potemkin; the place was carried and put to sack with savage fury. The victors having lost 20,000 men during the siege gave no quarter, and massacred more than 25,000 of the inhabitants.

Joseph II., who had taken command in person of his army, obtained less success than the Russians; he made two fruitless attempts to surprise Belgrade, but was forced to retire. The Grand Vizier broke the Austrian centre and drove back the Germans as far as Lugos, took several

places in Hungary, ravaged the Banat of Temesvar, and was very nearly surprising the Emperor himself. These were, however, but poor compensations for the disaster of Oczakof. The Prince of Coburg, indeed, had taken Choczim, and afterwards occupied a considerable part of Moldavia; but, on the whole, this campaign must be regarded as a failure. The Turks, indeed, were at last compelled to evacuate the Banat before the end of autumn; but the entire plan of the campaign was bad; and the Emperor returned to Vienna ill and dispirited.

A few months afterwards Abdul Ahmed died (April, 1789), carried off by a stroke of apoplexy. The succession of his nephew Selim III. (son of the unfortunate Mustapha III.), a young prince of twenty-eight, possessing energy and considerable talents, restored some confidence to the nation, terrified by the slaughter at Oczakof. Having resolved to prosecute the war with spirit, Selim issued a decree commanding all the "Faithful" between sixteen and sixty years of age, to take up arms. But like some of his predecessors, he acted with more zeal than discretion. Dressed as a sailor, or in other disguises, Selim went alone, by night as well as by day, through the streets of Constantinople, entering manufactories, shops, and coffee-houses, endeavouring to learn the wants and wishes of his people from their own mouths. By such a course, however, he was often led into error. By the revival of obsolete sumptuary laws, and the severity with which he enforced their provisions with regard to apparel, &c., he lost more hearts than he had gained by his apparent zeal for the welfare of his people.

The war, however, continued; but France having offered her mediation, conferences were opened at Focshani. England and Prussia redoubled their efforts to render them abortive; they prepared armaments; they entered into alliance with Poland, as did the latter with the Porte; they promised aid to Sweden. Hostilities recommenced. Selim wished to take command of his armies himself; the Divan, for superstitious reasons, prevented him.

On the 21st of July Gazi Hassan, who since the loss of the fleet had commanded the vanguard of the army, was defeated near Focshani by the Russians and Austrians, commanded by Suvaroff and the Prince of Coburg. The Grand Vizier, desirous of avenging that defeat, profited by the separation of the allied troops to attack the Austrian army; but the sudden arrival of Suvaroff upset that plan, and the Turks lost at Rimnik 22,000 men, 60 guns, all their siege artillery and munitions. They then recrossed the Danube at Ismaïl.

The Prince of Coburg immediately entered Wallachia and Moldavia; and Prince Repnin, having succeeded Romanzoff in the command of the Russian army in the Ukraine, which after capturing Bender, Ackerman, and the province of Oczakof and Bessarabia, burned Galatz and menaced Ismaïl. But the chief hero of the campaign was Loudon, who took the suburbs of Belgrade by storm, and compelled Osman Pacha and the Turkish garrison to capitulate (8th October); Semendria and Passarowitz surrendered a few days after.

England then made serious preparations to go to the aid of Turkey, and she concluded (31st January, 1790) a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with Prussia, whose armies were bound by it to enter upon a campaign in the following spring; at length, Sweden launched against Russia an army which threatened St. Petersburg, and a fleet that fought a glorious fight.

Notwithstanding these diversions, Turkey did not find her dangers diminish; when the death of Joseph II. (20th February, 1790) fortunately happened to modify the policy of Austria, which granted at first an armistice, and afterwards signed (September, 1790) preliminaries, converted into a treaty of peace at Sistova. By that treaty the Ottomans only lost Old Orsova and the territory limited by the Unna. But, on the other hand, Sweden made peace with Russia.

Meanwhile the war had continued between Russia and the Porte. The campaign of 1790 had begun late. Under Potemkin, Suvaroff, and other generals, the Russians cap-

tured Kilia Nova (29th October), and two or three other places subsequently surrendered. But the grand exploit of the year was the taking of Ismaïl by assault by Suvaroff (22nd December, 1790). That desperate enterprise was not achieved without great loss on the part of the Russians, who stained their victory by the horrible butchery which they committed; a massacre of three days in the town, allowing one man only to escape to tell the tale of that disaster. The populace of Constantinople, who, after the defeat of Rimnik, had manifested its discontent by threats and incendiary fires, then demanded the head of Gazi Hassan, and Selim, terrified, delivered him up to the executioners.

The French Revolution broke out. Such a cataclysm involved not only the ruin of the House of Bourbon but the downfall of France's European influence. All eyes were turned towards the East, with the exception of Russia, which saw, in the pre-occupations of other Powers, the opportunity of ruining Turkey. But then England, Prussia, and Austria intervened, reproaching the Czarina "for continuing a war which prevented the European Powers from occupying themselves with the affairs of the West." At length negotiations opened at Galatz, in the month of August, 1791, brought about the Treaty of Jassy (9th January, 1792). Russia obtained definitely the Crimea, a part of the Kouban, where she soon afterwards built Odessa, Bessarabia, and the stronghold of Oczakof; the Dneister was recognized as the limit of the two Empires, and an indemnity of twelve millions of piastres was stipulated in favour of the Czarina. In that treaty the Danubian Principalities were no longer designated as Turkish provinces, and the capitulations of 1393 and of 1460 were passed over in silence.

Catherine II. having refused to accede to the Congress of Reichenbach, or to accept the mediation of Prussia with the Porte, Frederick William placed a large army on foot; and Great Britain declared to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg that, whether the mediation of the allied Powers was accepted or not, she should demand for the

Porte the strict *status quo ante bellum*. In pursuance of this declaration, a large fleet, destined for the Baltic, was equipped in the English harbours, and the Dutch were called upon to furnish their contingent. But a war with Russia was then very unpopular in England, on account of the lucrative commerce carried on with that country. Fresh propositions were made to Catherine, and, after somewhat lengthy negotiations, preliminaries were signed (11th August) at Galatz, between Prince Repnin and the Grand Vizier. Further negotiations for peace were transferred to Jassy, whither Prince Potemkin hastened from St. Petersburg to conduct them. The idea of a peace was very distasteful to Potemkin, who was in hopes of obtaining Moldavia and Wallachia for himself, as an independent principality; nor did he altogether despair of attaining that object by his negotiation. But the sittings of the Congress had scarcely begun ere he was seized with a malignant fever then raging in those parts; and to which perhaps the agitation of his mind contributed to give a fatal result. He left Jassy, the 15th of October, for his favourite residence, Nicholajeff. But he was not permitted to reach it. He died on the road thither during the day following, in the arms of his favourite niece, the Countess Branicka. The Peace of Jassy was signed 9th January, 1792. The Dneister was now fixed as the boundary between the Russian and Turkish Empires, and thus Oczakof was tacitly assigned to Russia; which latter Power restored to the Porte its other conquests.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE PEACE OF JASSY TO THE TREATY OF PARIS (1792–1856).

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE PEACE OF JASSY TO THE ACCESSION OF MAHMOUD II. (1792–1808).

1. *Rebound of the French Revolution at Constantinople.*

THE state of the Ottoman Empire was now deplorable. Nearly all the Pachas of Asia were no longer bound to the Sultan save by some few tributes and forms of respect; the Persians and the Kurds menaced the eastern frontiers; the Mamelukes tyrannized over Egypt; Syria was in open revolt; the pachas and peoples of Turkey in Europe appeared to be no better subjected than those of Asia; the anarchy was such, that bands of brigands were formed in the Balkans, Rhodope, and Pindus, which ravaged and put to ransom entire provinces: one of those bands having then recently imposed a heavy contribution upon the second city of the Empire, Adrianople. Selim busied himself actively with the repression of all these disorders, and especially with the internal administration of his States, remaining neutral in the gigantic struggle undertaken by the enemies of the French Revolution.

At this epoch, the war of the allied monarchs against that revolution had commenced, and the coalition sought to strengthen itself with Turkey. The foreign Ministers, and chiefly the representative of England, incited the

Divan to break with France, by promising their good offices in inducing Russia to abandon its last conquests. The mission of Descorches, ex-Marquis de Sainte Croix, was therefore to combat the representations and solicitations of the coalesced Powers. Owing to his persuasion, the Porte, which had, moreover, no interest to enter into the league of the absolute Sovereigns, persisted in its neutrality, and continued to extend its protection to the merchants and establishments of France.

But the almost continual defeats sustained by Turkey, the ever-increasing disorders of her administration, the ideas of independence which agitated Albania, Servia, Greece, and Syria, the continual revolts of the pachas, led Europe to believe that that Empire was fast approaching dissolution. That was also the opinion of the French Directory, and of its successful general, Bonaparte: it thought that it was necessary not only to prepare itself to take part in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, but further to take that part in advance, singly, without the concurrence of Russia, and in spite of all Europe. "The re-establishment of French power in the East was," it said, "one of the necessities of our struggle with England."

Plans had formerly been proposed to Choiseul and Louis XVI. for the conquest of Egypt; the Directory discussed them, as well as the reports recently made by Lazowski, an officer of engineers, charged with a mission to Turkey. That person did not hesitate to advise the French Government to renounce the alliance of the Porte and to appropriate the provinces which were escaping from its domination. He asserted that the Sultan was not in a condition to oppose the smallest obstacle to an enterprise against Egypt, wherein his rule was illusory; that the weakness of the resources of Turkey, the exhaustion of its finances, the vices of its Government—everything, in short, presaged an approaching fall.

The Directory and Bonaparte had conceived their project against the East in the midst of the embarrassments of war; as soon as the Peace of Campo Formio was

signed, the expedition to Egypt was speedily resolved upon. It was a great error. The old French Government was prepared to secure its share of the Ottoman Empire, if it crumbled; but whilst striving to avert that catastrophe, the new Government, in brutally wresting from that empire one of its provinces, hastened its ruin, broke through an alliance which had survived so many disasters, and in the end brought for the first time angrily in presence of each other, Turks and Frenchmen. Thus political considerations had less share in this determination of the Directory and of Bonaparte than those of a vulgar ambition.

The ill-advised invasion of Egypt (1798) by the French under Bonaparte proved at the outset disastrous for their commerce, for their religious establishments, and their relations with the Porte. At the news of the expedition having landed, the stupefaction of the Divan was extreme, and the English Prime Minister, Pitt, supported by those of Russia and Austria, profited by it to excite Mussulman pride to take vengeance for such an insult. The Divan hesitated: it expected some explanation from France, and thought itself deceived by the ambassadors of the coalesced Powers. As for Ruffin, the French *Chargé d'Affaires*, he found himself in a most critical position: being without instructions, he attempted at first to disown the expedition, then to explain it. France, he said, had sent troops into Egypt, not to destroy, but to affirm the authority of the Grand Seignior against the Mamelukes, who, for upwards of a century, had not ceased to obstruct the commercial relations of France with Egypt and persecute French merchants. It was all useless. The Divan refused to listen to him. The Sultan after a somewhat long hesitation declared war against France, and flung Ruffin into the prison of the Seven Towers (12th September, 1798).

All the French established at Constantinople were incarcerated in the Asiatic Castles of the Bosphorus, and even in the bagnio at Stamboul. The French mercantile establishments in Greece, Asia, and Syria were entirely ruined; English ships having made their appearance in

the Archipelago, at Smyrna and Beyrout, compelling the Mussulman authorities to arrest the French merchants.

The conquest of the Ionian Islands, of Malta and Egypt, had given France the domination of the Mediterranean: the defeats of Aboukir and St. Jean d'Acre wrested them from her again. Bonaparte saw that his dream of empire in the East had been dispelled and his great designs regarding Egypt rendered abortive, but still convinced that the Ottoman power was near its end, he was engrossed with the thought of preventing that province from falling into hands hostile to France. "The English have trembled," he wrote to Kleber (21st August, 1799), "to see us occupying Egypt. We would show Europe the true means of depriving them of India; they are not yet reassured on that head, and they judge rightly. If forty or fifty thousand European families fixed their industries, their laws and their administration in Egypt, India would be presently lost to the English, much more even by the force of events than by that of arms. You know as well as I how important the possession of Egypt is to France: that the Turkish Empire, which ruin threatens on all sides, is now already crumbling to pieces, and the evacuation of Egypt would be a misfortune so much the greater that we should see in our time that fine province pass into European hands."

Notwithstanding that opinion of the baffled Corsican soldier as to the actual disintegration of the Turkish Empire, an alliance was formed, though of brief duration, between the Porte and the Court of St. Petersburg: the Russian Fleet was admitted through the Dardanelles, received with every mark of honour, and visited by the Sultan in person. Outside the Straits it was joined by the Turkish Fleet, and for the first, and perhaps the last time, the Russian flag waved in cordial union with the Crescent. On the 20th of September the combined fleets sailed for the Archipelago, agreeably to instructions from Nelson, under whose command they were placed. They were destined to reduce the Ionian Islands, while the English took upon themselves the blockade of Malta.

Sultan Selim testified his gratitude to Nelson by presenting him with a magnificent pelisse, and a diamond aigrette taken from his own turban, worth several thousand pounds. The Czar Paul also made some valuable presents to the English Admiral.

The alliance between the Czar and the Sublime Porte was definitively concluded by the treaty of Constantinople (23rd December, 1798). The two Powers were henceforth to have the same friends, the same enemies, and they mutually guaranteed each other's possessions, including Egypt. Great Britain acceded to this treaty (5th January, 1799).

If the conquest of Egypt, so perfidiously undertaken by Bonaparte, had roused the indignation of the Turks, his expulsion excited their contempt. In the eyes of the Moslems France had lost the prestige both of friendship and power.

Meanwhile, the peace of Amiens was under negotiation: England was desirous of including the Porte in the treaty, as a contracting party, in order to bind her to the alliance; but the First Consul persisted in making a separate peace with Turkey. That peace was concluded on the 25th June, 1802; Egypt was evacuated by the French Army and restored to the Porte, the territory and possessions of which were maintained in their integrity, *statu quo ante bellum*. The Ionian Islands were erected into an independent Republic, under the protection of the Porte, while Turkey engaged to restore all property confiscated belonging to French subjects during the war, and to liberate the agents, merchants, and priests of that nationality, &c. Finally, the treaties which existed before the war were renewed, and particularly the capitulations of 1740, with new articles regulating the incontestable right of French vessels to enter the Black Sea and navigate therein unrestrictedly. Ruffin, released from the Seven Towers, resumed his functions of *Chargé d'Affaires* until the arrival of General Brune, appointed ambassador (January, 1803).

2. *Disorders in Servia.—Pasvan-Oglou.*

Whilst France was contributing to shake the Ottoman Empire by the expedition to Egypt, that Empire was agitated by tentative reforms which brought about internal troubles, chiefly in Servia.

Servia, fallen directly under Ottoman domination in consequence of the battle of Kassova, had had its territory divided into *timars* or fiefs, granted to the Sipahis. The Servians having become *rayahs*,* sought at first protection at the hands of the Janissaries, who, paid by the treasury, were no burden upon the population, and who were everywhere the adversaries of the Sipahis. Moreover, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, one-fifth of the male population of Servia had entered the Janissary corps, the which had established ties between that privileged corps and the nation. Notwithstanding those ties, difference of religion soon rendered the Janissaries as odious to the Servians as the Sipahis.

The Servian peasant, however, was not attached to the glebe: real proprietor of the soil, he cultivated it in his own way and had only to pay his ground tax to enjoy his harvests with entire immunity. He nominated his *Knès* or mayors, who were charged with the maintenance of order and the assessment of taxes. The Turks, collected together in the towns or cities in order to resist more easily a numerous population, abandoned the country entirely to the conquered. But if the law was lenient, custom had established claims which wounded the pride of the Servians: thus a rayah could not enter a town on horseback, and never dare show that he carried arms; in short, he gave way to the Turk in everything. Thus brigandage, so frequent among mountaineers, was sustained by all the discontented, and numerous bodies of *heyduques* protested against the Turkish administration. In the war which broke out, in 1787, between Austria and Turkey, many Servians enlisted in the Hungarian corps and therein acquired practice and military skill which they were not

* In Turkey all subjects except Mahometans are so-called.

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slow in using against those whom the love of liberty and religious hatred pointed out to them as enemies and oppressors.

After the conclusion of the peace with Austria (1790), the Pacha of Belgrade, Ebet Bekir, strove to attach Servia to the Empire by equitable measures: he granted an amnesty to the inhabitants who had taken part with Austria; he endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the Janissaries, which had become insupportable, and to that end leaned upon the Sipahis. The Serbs, contented, supported the administration of the pacha, whose successor, Hadji-Mustapha, acquired the surname of *Mère-Serbe*. The Janissaries, desirous of avenging themselves, turned to Pasvan-Oglou.

The latter was an *ayan* of Widdin, whose father had been unjustly beheaded at the epoch of the Peace of Jassy; he then took refuge in the Balkans, and, at the head of 10,000 *Krdchalis* or brigands of Bulgaria and Macedonia, he ravaged the country, seized upon Widdin, and levied contributions upon Wallachia. The Divan in vain offered him its pardon and the restitution of his father's possessions; he preferred the independence he was enjoying, declared himself inimical to the reforms then attempted by Selim, summoned to his aid the Janissaries, of whom he became the patron, and embodied in his guard those who had been banished from Servia. He placed himself in open revolt, took Orsova and Silistria, and menaced Belgrade. The pacha of that city, wanting troops wherewith to struggle against such an adversary, made an appeal to the Serbs, who raised a corps, the command of which was confided to a heyduke: henceforward Turks and Serbs made common cause. Then the Capudan-pacha Hussein arrived with an army of 80,000 men, besieged the rebel in Widdin, but failed to obtain his submission. In the end, the Sultan treated with him, conceded to him the pachalic which he had usurped, and ordered the Pacha of Belgrade to re-establish the Janissaries.

That weakness was attended by the results it was des-

tined to have: the Janissaries, looking upon themselves as victors, practised every sort of exaction, and, aided by Pasvan-Oglou, seized upon Belgrade, the pacha of which they slew. Then they usurped all authority, exacted the ninth of the crops and substituted themselves in the place of the Sipahis. The latter plotted with the Serbs to shake off the yoke; but the Janissaries, forewarned, left them no other chance of safety but flight. A deputation was sent to Constantinople by the *Knès* and thus addressed the Sultan: "Art thou still our Czar? Come and deliver us, and, if you will not, tell us so, that we may seek safety in the mountains and forests, or put an end to our existence in the rivers." The Sultan sent a command to the Janissaries to cease their tyranny; but the latter massacred all those Serbs who were likely to become the chiefs of an insurrection. Despair lent energy to the wretched rayahs: in a few days, the Janissaries were driven from the open country and retreated to the towns and fortresses. Then the Serbs elected as their supreme chief Georges Petrovitch, a former heyduke, who, at the time of the war of 1787, had placed himself at the service of the Austrians against the Turks.* He was called *Czerni*-Georges, or *Black* George. He refused at first the command awarded him, because, he said, he knew not how to govern: the *Knès* promised him their counsels. He then objected that from his proneness to anger he was more ready to strike than to reprimand; he was answered that severity was exactly that which was needed under the circumstances in which they were.

Scarcely was he invested with the supreme authority

* In order to form some idea of this future liberator of Servia, it will suffice to cite the following fact: flying from Servia to join the Austrians, he had been for three days on the banks of the Save, near Douboko, waiting for some Hungarian vessels which were to convey him and his companions to the other side, when his father, turning round, gazed earnestly at the mountains where he was about to leave all the recollections of his life, and feeling his heart sink conjured his son to submit rather than pass over into Austria. Then from entreaty proceeding to menace, he declared that he would denounce his flight and that of his companions. Georges supplicated his father to remain with them, and being unable to bend him, shot him dead, saying: "Better that thou should perish alone than that all of us should."

that he attacked Belgrade, whilst two of his lieutenants took Czabatz and Semendria. At the same time, Bekir, Pacha of Bosnia, came to the aid of the Serbs and appeared also before Belgrade. The city surrendered: the pacha, believing that all was over, invited the Serbs to return to their labours and lay down their arms; but these latter refused, for the past had taught them cruel lessons. Then Bekir retired and left the country delivered up to the ravages of the Krdschalis, who shared it amongst themselves as a conquest.

3. *Ali Pacha.*

It will shortly be seen what were the results of the troubles of Servia, and the influence they had upon the destinies of the Empire. We must now, in order to complete the picture of the anarchy which was undermining Turkey, examine the state of another province, Lower Albania, where the ambition of a pacha was destined to bring about the gravest events.

Ali, born at Tebelen in Upper Epirus, belonged to an Albanian family, long since converted to Islamism. His father, Veley Bey, persecuted by his brothers, had become a highway robber, and had only returned to Tebelen to exterminate his family, whose property swelled the fruits of his pillages. His mother, Khamco, had, after her husband's death, followed the same pursuit. Falling with her children into the hands of the inhabitants of Kardiki and Cormovo, she was outraged and then set at liberty. The son of such parents, Ali did not degenerate. After having, from the age of eighteen, led the life of a brigand, at the head of a band of *palikars*, he tried his fortune by becoming the devoted servant of the Porte. The revolt of 1770 had left its traces in Epirus: a great number of beys had rendered themselves independent in their mountains, where they acted as petty tyrants; the highways were infested with brigands; the Sultan having neither action nor power in a large extent of the country. Ali denounced

successively to the Porte three Pachas of Delvino, one of whom was his father-in-law, the other his brother-in-law, the third his friend, and caused them to perish. As a recompense he obtained the title of Dervend-Pacha (Pacha of roads), authority to raise 4,000 Albanians, and was charged with the task of driving all brigands out of the province. He overcame the greater part of the rebel beys, confiscated their properties, sent a portion of his booty to the Ottoman Ministers, and obtained in return the Pachalic of Janina (1788). Then he put in execution the promise he had made to his dying mother of exterminating the people of Kardiki and Cormovo; he seized upon the latter town and entirely destroyed it with its inhabitants; one of them, accused of having done violence to Khamco, was trussed, spitted and roasted by a slow fire. However, he was punctual in paying the ground-rents to the Porte, and, indifferent to all the religions, he flattered alike Mussulmans and Greeks, praying with the Dervishes and singing hymns to the Virgin with the Papas.

In 1797, the French having become masters of the ancient Venetian possessions, he entered into relations with them, and assured them of his devotedness. But, when the Porte had declared war against France, he seized upon Butrinto, marched against Previsa with 20,000 men and encountered at Nicopolis 280 Frenchmen, who made an heroic resistance. Previsa was taken, pillaged and half of its population massacred. At the same time, he wrote to the Governor of the Ionian Islands that he had only taken Butrinto and Previsa to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Russians and the English. The Porte made him a Pacha of three tails, but it began to grow uneasy at his usurpations, and Ali only succeeded in quieting its suspicions by sending rich presents to the members of the Divan.

In 1802, he obtained from the Porte authorization to destroy the Suliotes: this was a tribe of Christian and independent mountaineers, who, in 1770, had risen at the call of the Russians, and against whom it had in

vain made war since 1788. Ali surrounded the Suliote mountains with a numerous army, and a traitor having opened one of the defiles to him, he compelled the mountaineers to capitulate (1803). The treaty stipulated that they should quit the country with arms and baggage; but scarcely had they began their march than they were attacked and massacred. Their women flung themselves into the abysses or into the Acheron to escape the victors. A small number succeeded in reaching the Ionian Islands.

The destruction of the Suliotes caused a great sensation, not only on account of their energetic defence, but for the sake of the Cross which these mountaineers had hoisted as a signal of liberty. The Porte rewarded the victor by bestowing upon him the title of *romili-valici*, which conferred the command of its armies in the absence of the Grand Vizier. Invested with this new charge, he marched against the Krdschalis of Macedonia and Thrace. His enemies hoped that he would fail in that expedition, but he collected 80,000 men and forced the rebels to submit themselves and give him hostages; two pachas, accused of having supported them secretly, were decapitated; the highways became free, but Ali profited by his power to amass riches by levying contributions upon almost every town. Then, finding that the Porte was irritated at his success and suspected his projects of independence, he disbanded his army, returned to Epirus, caused the wealthiest inhabitants of the country to perish, and thus became absolute master of it.

4. *Mission of Sebastiani to the Levant.*

Whilst the troubles of Servia and Epirus gave evidence to Europe of the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, war was about to break out again in the West, and the rebound to make itself felt upon the shores of the Bosphorus.

Napoleon had a dreamy and instinctive affection for Eastern lands; always regretting, even at St. Helena, that the check at Acre had brought about the failure of his

Alexander-like career; he knew how much the destinies of Europe depend upon that mysterious Levant which holds the keys of the Mediterranean, the keys of the highway to India, how much they depend above all on the maintenance or the fall of that Empire of the Osmanlis, the existence of which was for him, as for preceding Governments, an insoluble problem. He looked therefore on that quarter with an anxiety so much the more profound, that he had his forces and his thoughts occupied without intermission in the West. Therefore, as soon as he had made peace with Turkey, he turned his attention to the regeneration of the influence, commerce, and name of France in the Levant, and, to that end, he sent into those countries a man of trust and talent, Colonel Sebastiani. The avowed object of his mission was to require of the English the evacuation of Alexandria, to announce to the pachas of Egypt and Syria the peace concluded with the Porte of 1802, and to assure them that French commissioners were about to be sent to the Levant ports to re-establish commercial relations.

The report of Sebastiani's mission was regarded by the enemies of France as an avowal of the ambitious pretensions of Bonaparte towards the East, and it was not one of the least causes of the rupture of the peace of Amiens. "The French Government," said George III. of England to his parliament, "has maintained hostile views on those two points, Egypt and Corfu, and it has even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish Empire. Those views are now become evident to the whole world by the official publication of Colonel Sebastiani's report, by the conduct of that officer and other French agents in Egypt, in Syria and the Ionian Islands." England saw, in fact, that Republican France was within reach of continuing or exaggerating the projects of monarchical France, whether by regenerating the Ottoman Empire, or by dismembering it to its profit.

5. *Rupture of the Peace of Amiens.—Conduct of the Porte.*

The cause of the rupture of the Peace of Amiens was therefore the re-establishment of French relations with the East, and the reason that England firmly resolved upon keeping Malta. "That island," said Lord Pelham in Parliament, "was absolutely necessary to Great Britain, as a pledge of security against the designs of France with regard to Egypt." And Bonaparte replied: "France would no longer be a maritime State, if the English, who have usurped the exclusive commerce of the Indies and America, could further, by keeping Malta, drive out French navigation from the Levant ports and the whole of the Mediterranean."

The same cause brought about the rupture of Russia with France: with England it was Malta; with Russia, the Ionian Islands were the occasion or pretext. Russia had left a garrison therein; its agents had usurped plenary power; and from that post they stirred up the Albanians and Montenegrins.

France, attacked by Russia, England, and Austria strove, as in former times, to excite the Divan to carry war along the shores of the Danube, and Brune received instructions to that effect. The Court of Constantinople had remained, since the peace, under the influence of the Powers with which it had allied itself against France; but it painfully endured that dependence, especially Selim III., an enlightened prince, who was irritated at what he considered the arrogant tone of England and the ever-increasing influence of Russia over his subjects. The moment seemed favourable therefore to renew the old alliance; but the members of the Divan were almost all pensioners of England; the Empire was, as has been seen, full of perturbations; lastly Brune, with his Republican abruptness and his passionate pride, was unfit to conduct a negotiation in that corrupt Court, where so much cunning and address were needed: the Porte had so far degenerated, that it possessed no longer a policy of its own, and was

dragged along in the wake of the strongest. The propositions of Brune were received with coldness, and he even met with a refusal to recognize Napoleon by his new title of Emperor. The ambassador threatened to quit Constantinople; the Divan did not seek to retain him and he took his departure. The Porte, urged by Russia, promised to enter into the coalition and to send troops into Italy; but it took care not to do so.

Napoleon was dissatisfied with this conduct of Turkey, but he refused to avenge himself for it. Such was not the opinion of his advisers: Talleyrand was desirous that after having defeated Austria conditions should have been imposed upon the Porte which would have left it its grandeur, but by making of it a Power entirely slavish and oriental. To do that, it would have been necessary to take away its Germanic provinces, and giving it in exchange Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bosnia, which would have seated it entirely upon the Danube, and have made of it an eternal enemy of Russia, and, consequently, a natural ally of France. Napoleon preferred rather to weaken Austria, in order to take care of, in the future, the alliance of Russia; but, at the same time, he showed what solicitude he had for the destinies of the Ottoman Empire in causing to be ceded, by the treaty of Presburg (26th December, 1805), Dalmatia, Illyria, the Gulf of Cattaro, &c. Russia therefore, which continued to intrigue in Greece, and whose agents had stirred the Montenegrins into insurrection, hastened to seize upon the Gulf of Cattaro. In reprisal, France seized upon Ragusa.

As soon as the battle of Austerlitz had delivered it from the fear of the Russians, and the Treaty of Presburg had given it the French as neighbours, the Porte drew closer to France, recognized Napoleon as Emperor and sent him an ambassador extraordinary (5th June, 1806), "to signalize," said Selim, "in an eminent manner the feelings of confidence, attachment, and admiration with which it was penetrated for the Prince whom he looks upon as the oldest, the most faithful and the most necessary friend of his empire." Napoleon replied: "One of the greatest,

most precious advantages which I desire to draw from the success that has attended my arms is to support and assist the most useful as well as the oldest of my allies. I am delighted to give you publicly and solemnly the assurance of this. Everything that shall happen whether fortunate or unfortunate for the Ottomans will be fortunate or unfortunate for France. Monsieur the ambassador, transmit these words to the Sultan Selim; let him remember them on every occasion that my enemies, who are his also, endeavour to approach him. He can never have anything to fear from me; united with me, he will never have to dread the power of any of his enemies."

General Sebastiani was sent on an embassy to Constantinople and was instructed to urge the Divan to make a diversion against the Russians on the Danube. He took with him officers to aid in the re-organization of the Ottoman army. Before touching upon the results of that embassy, it is necessary to revert to the reform attempted in the army and the troubles of Servia.

6. *Troubles in Roumelia.—Insurrection of Servia.*

It was not only Servia and Bulgaria which had been ravaged by the brigands of the Balkans; Roumelia had undergone her share of the pillage; her country districts and towns were unable to be protected by the Janissaries, who suffered numerous defeats; Adrianople was menaced (1804). The Sultan seized the occasion to mobilize one of his regiments raised at Constantinople, with a company of light artillery, a squadron of cavalry and three Karamanian regiments: the brigands were everywhere beaten and Roumelia delivered. Selim, delighted with the success of the Nizam-gedittes, heaped rewards upon them; and, desirous of pushing further a reform that gave such prompt results, he issued a hatti-cherif (March, 1805) ordering a selection to be made from the towns and principal villages of European Turkey, among the Janissaries and young Moslems of from twenty to twenty-

five, the strongest and best proportioned, wherewith to form new regiments. That order excited almost everywhere insurrections amongst the population; Constantinople remained quiet; but the publication of the hatti-cherif had been avoided there, and the mufti constrained the Ulemas to silence.

In 1806, the Divan, on account of the general state of Europe, thought that it was necessary to take some measures of precaution, and Kadi Pacha received an order to increase the regiments of Nizam-gedittes and to bring them to Constantinople with all the Zaïms and Timariots of his government, and two corps of cavalry furnished by the powerful families of Tchiapan-Oglou and of Carasman-Oglou. It was hoped that those troops would be able, on repairing to the Danube, to punish the towns which had refused to obey the last hatti-cherif. But, on the one hand, the Sultan Selim gave himself the vain pleasure of putting them through a month's manœuvres; and, on the other, the Janissaries of various villages summoned to join them the brigands of Rhodope, of the Hæmus and Pindus. Everywhere the populations, forewarned that the hatti-cherif was about to be put in execution, rose; and, when in the middle of July Kadi Pacha began to march, he found himself, at the very outset, in presence of masses of enemies. It was impossible to cut his way through them, and Selim was compelled to send him into Asia with his troops. Constantinople experienced the rebound of that veritable civil war; the Ministers were obliged to take flight and the aga of the Janissaries became Grand Vizier. The mufti himself went voluntarily into exile at Broussa.

Whilst the heart of the Empire was delivered up to these disorders, the Serbs, seeing themselves abandoned by the Divan to the ravages of the Krdschalis, had implored the intervention of Russia (August, 1804). The Czar answered them that his ambassador would support all their attempts, and that they must address themselves to the Sultan. A deputation of *Knès* then (February, 1805) repaired to Constantinople; it demanded that the fortresses should be given up to them, that a sum of two

million of piastres should be paid them as an indemnity for the war which they had sustained against the Janissaries. These demands were looked upon as an insult; the deputies were thrown into prison, and the Pacha of Nissa, Hafiz, received the order to enter Servia. The Serbs, who until then had only thought of ridding themselves of the oppression of the Janissaries, resolved to go to war for their independence. Hafiz was defeated, and a synod, convoked at Semendria, summoned all the Serbs to the conquest of freedom. The Pachas of Bosnia and Albania entered Servia and enveloped everything in blood and fire. Czerni-Georges collected 15,000 men, defeated the two pachas separately, and achieved finally a complete victory over them at Czabatz (August, 1806). Then the Pacha of Scutari offered them peace on the following conditions: that the Serbs should have a particular government and should pay a sum of 600,000 florins, which should be employed to indemnify the Sipahis; that the citadel of Belgrade should be occupied by an Ottoman garrison. These propositions were accepted, but the Sultan refused to carry them out (December, 1806). At that epoch, war having broken out between Russia and Turkey, the Serbs found a protector in the Czar. The causes of that war will now be revealed.

7. *Rupture of the Porte with Russia and England.—The Russians invade the Danubian Provinces.*

Napoleon had endeavoured to negotiate peace with England and Russia, and had laid down, as a first condition of the treaties to be made, "the absolute independence of the Ottoman Empire, as being not only his most earnest desire, but the most fixed point of his policy." The negotiations failed; the war continued; the Porte, fearing to be dragged into it, and desirous of making its neutrality respected, ordered the Voïvodes of

Moldavia and Wallachia to victual their strongholds, and the Pacha of Roumelia to assemble his troops on the Danube. Russia distrusted these precautions. She redoubled her intrigues to stir up disorders in the interior of the Empire, fomented the revolt of the Serbs, sent arms to the Montenegrins and Maïnotes; finally, she brought into play manœuvres against Turkey, which had so well succeeded in respect to Poland, by mixing herself up in the affairs of the Danubian provinces.

The revolt of Pasvan-Oglou having exposed Wallachia to great trouble, the Roumanians thought to lean upon France for the accomplishment of their independence, and they sent deputies to Napoleon to request his assistance in order to constitute themselves a free State under the French protectorate. Napoleon refused to enter into any engagement to that effect. Then the Wallachian boyards elected as prince, Ypsilanti, who dreamed of reconstituting a kingdom of Dacia with the support of Russia. The Moldavians elected Morusi, who was believed to be on the side of Russia. The Porte refused to recognize Ypsilanti, and nominated Alexander Soutzo, whom Russia in her turn rejected. At length, the Porte yielded; but General Sebastiani, on repairing to Constantinople, had remained some time at Bucharest with Prince Ypsilanti. He had carefully studied his conduct, and unveiled the manœuvres of the Court of St. Petersburg to the Sultan, urging him at the same time to punish the Voïvodes by dismissal. To this it was objected that, since the Treaty of Jassy, those princes, nominated for seven years, could only be dismissed by consent of the Czar; but, in a private interview with the Sultan, Sebastiani demonstrated that that consent could only regard faults of administration, and not a notorious treason. He accused the Voïvodes of being the instigators of the Servian troubles, by pointing out the connection existing between Czerni-Georges and Prince Ypsilanti. The Sultan hurried away, recalled the Voïvodes (30th August, 1806), and replaced them by Soutzo and Calimachi. Ypsilanti fled at first into Transylvania, then into the Russian army; his property was confiscated,

and his aged father decapitated. As for Morusi, he withdrew to Constantinople.

That diplomatic success had been obtained so promptly that Russia was unable to turn aside the blow. Scarcely recovered from its surprise, it experienced another check, which it again owed to the skill of the French ambassador.

It has been already said that Napoleon endeavoured to negotiate a peace with Russia; a Treaty had even been signed with the Russian ambassador; but the Czar refused to ratify it. Sebastiani gave the Divan to understand that the principal motive of that refusal were the guarantees required by France, and contained in the Treaty of Peace, in favour of the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty stipulated, in fact, the independence of the Ionian Islands, which took from the Russians the means of attacking Turkey on that side, and, at the same time, it re-established the independence of Ragusa under the protectorate of the Porte. "Russia sees with chagrin," said General Sebastiani, "that she can no longer invade by force the Turkish provinces, like the Crimea, or tear them away in time of peace, as she has wrested Georgia and the passage of the Dardanelles." And he demanded, in the name of the Emperor, that the Bosphorus should be closed to all Russian ships of the line and transports, having either troops on board or munitions of war, declaring that to leave that passage open to the Russians would be a violation of neutrality, and to give the French the right of passing over Ottoman territory to attack them upon the shores of the Dneister. He declared, moreover, that any renewal or even any continuation of alliance with England or Russia would be considered as an accession to the war against France. Lastly, he added, that the French army in Dalmatia had no other object than to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; but that, if the Sublime Porte united itself with the enemies of France, the Emperor would be constrained to give to that army a destination quite opposite to that which it had had hitherto. The demand of the French ambassador

was acquiesced in, and, a short time afterwards, a Russian brig having attempted to enter the Bosphorus, its passage was interdicted.

The Ministers of England and Russia, Mr. Arbuthnot and M. d'Italinski, were astounded at these measures, which announced a change of policy on the part of the Porte. The former reproached the Divan with abandoning its faithful allies in order to give itself up to the fatal influence of the revolutionary government of France; whilst the latter declared that his master could not tolerate such infractions of treaties; and both demanded the renewal of the alliance, as well as the reinstatement of the voïvodes. The Turkish Ministers were terrified, and appeared disposed to retrace their steps. The alliance of France would secure them against a rupture with Russia, but in nowise against England, whose navy could ruin the commerce of the Empire, and who, besides, seemed until then to have lent it a gratuitous assistance. Sebastiani restored its confidence by saying that England would not compromise her commercial position for matters of fact which did not affect her.

The Divan then endeavoured to drag out at length the negotiation with the ambassadors of England and Russia; but the latter went on board a vessel of his own nation, and demanded his passports; the former, detained at Buyukdere by a slow fever, sent his second secretary, Wellesley Pole, to require a categorical answer. The latter rode to Constantinople with all speed, and, as the weather was rainy, he reached the Divan all over mud, and whip in hand. He repeated, haughtily, the demands of his ambassador, and added that a fleet, sailing from Gibraltar, was about to pass the Dardanelles. The cavalier demeanour and menacing words of the young secretary made a profound impression upon the Divan, which ordered immediately the reinstatement of the voïvodes. M. d'Italinski, the representative of Russia, then came on shore and resumed his functions.

Selim was grieved at the pusillanimity of the Divan; he declared to Sebastiani, with whom he had a secret inter-

view, "that, taken unawares, he yielded to the storm; but that he cherished the unchangable resolve to pursue the policy of the Emperor, and to form closer ties with him than those which, for centuries, had united France and Turkey. Sebastiani assured the Sultan that Napoleon comprehended the difficulties of the situation and that his friendship would not be diminished by it. Selim, in his inquietude, wrote himself to the Emperor; the latter replied (March 1807) offering him the aid of his army in Dalmatia, which by way of Bosnia, could reach the lower Danube, and that of the French fleet at Cadiz, which, passing the Bosphorus, would make itself master of the Black Sea. In the meanwhile, he dispatched quickly engineer and artillery officers from Dalmatia.

The Porte had reason to believe that the satisfaction which it had just given Russia in reinstating the voïvodes would stop all aggression on her part; moreover, that Power was then summoned to the succour of Prussia, defeated at Jena; but Russia thought only of attacking Turkey, which was at the same time to fight France, and General Michelson invaded Moldavia and Wallachia. Napoleon, who watched with anxiety the vacillating policy of the Divan, thought that the rebound of his victories over Prussia would make itself felt on the Danube, and, when he was at Berlin: "Write," said he to the Turkish envoy, "write to your Court the news of what is passing here, and announce that the Prussians will attempt nothing against the Ottoman Empire (28th October)." As a fact, two divisions detached from Michelson's army went, under the command of General Essen, to re-inforce Bennigsen and take part in the battle of Eylau; but Turkey was not the less attacked vigorously, and Alexander, who had taken an oath to save the Prussian monarchy, forgot that oath in attempting to seize in the East the prey eternally coveted by Russian ambition.

Selim was indignant at this odious aggression; M. d'Italinski, questioned peremptorily, knew not what explanation to give, and Mr. Arbuthnot was constrained to acknowledge that the Porte had reason to be offended, if

there were no other cause for the march of the Russian army. The populace of Constantinople became threatening, and the Russian ambassador owed it solely to the energetic representations of Sebastiani that he was not thrown into the Seven Towers: an English vessel received him aboard and landed him at Tenedos. Whilst Sebastiani and Arbuthnot thus protected M. d'Italinski, the Russians carried off M. Reinhart, Consul-General of France at Jassy, and sent him a prisoner to Moscow.

8. *Napoleon sends aid to the Porte.—Departure of the English Ambassador.—Admiral Duckworth passes the Dardanelles.*

Napoleon was greatly moved by the causeless attacks of the Russians; he embraced the occasion of it to interest French honour in support of Turkey, in order to discover the projects of Russia against that Empire and to declare that the sole condition of peace he made with the Czar was the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Turkey. "I will never treat with Alexander," he loudly exclaimed, "if the Russians do not evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia, occupied contrary to the faith of treaties." "Who could calculate," he wrote to the Senate (29th January), "the duration of wars, the number of campaigns that it would be necessary to make some day in order to repair the misfortunes that would result from the loss of the Ottoman Empire, if the love of a disgraceful repose and the pleasures of a great city should prevail over the counsels of a wise foresight? We should leave to our nephews a long heritage of wars and woes. The Greek tiara rising again and triumphant from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, we should see in our time our provinces attacked by swarms of fanatics and barbarians; and if, in that too dilatory struggle, civilized Europe ran risk of perishing, our culpable indifference would justly excite the censures of posterity and would be a brand of opprobium in history."

He gave to Marmont (29th January), who commanded in Dalmatia, the order to aid with all his means,

advice, arms and munitions the Pachas of Bosnia and Scutari; to send them staff officers, some to stay with them, others to traverse the Turkish provinces, to cheer the downcast by promising the aid of France and to collect useful information. In the event of the Sultan asking for troops: "The Emperor is not very averse," said Major-General Berthier, "to send you with 25,000 against Widdin, and then you would enter into the system of the Grand army, since you would form the extreme right of it. . . . But all that is only hypothetical. In this grave conjuncture, the English hesitate and seem to wish to remain at peace with the Porte."

Mr. Arbuthnot, however, remained alone to struggle against French influence, for Baron Sturmer, the Austrian internuncio, preserved neutrality, and Baron de Bilfeld, *chargé d'affaires* of Prussia, had lost all influence since the disasters of his country; as for Spain and Holland, they followed French impulsion.

Selim, believing the moment come for avenging the misfortunes of the preceding reign, at length declared war against Russia (30th December). Thereupon Sebastiani urged the Divan to fortify the Dardanelles and Bosphorus; one of his officers, Juchereau de Saint-Denis,* commanding the Engineers, made a report upon the existing state of the fortifications, and a hatti-cherif ordered the prompt execution of the works he had pointed out.

The English ambassador, seeing the tendencies of the Porte, no longer restrained his course of action; he boldly demanded the expulsion of Sebastiani, the cession of Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, the giving up the Turkish fleet to England, as well as the forts and batteries of the Dardanelles, and threatened an expedition against Constantinople. The Divan indignantly rejected these demands. Sir Charles Arbuthnot, accompanied by all the English merchants, then went on board the *Endymion* frigate, and joined the Russian force off Tenedos without molestation, thanks to the negligence of the Capudan-

* This officer, afterwards General of brigade, and Ambassador to Greece, wrote a "History of the Ottoman Empire, from 1792 to 1844."

pacha. Immediately on his arrival at Tenedos, the English ambassador hastened to write to the Divan that he still considered himself as being upon Turkish territory, and that negotiations were not broken off. The Capudan-pacha and Feyzi Effendi were directed to treat with him, being already at the Dardanelles to see after the execution of the works ordered by the Sultan; he despatched his first dragoman to them, whose mission it was to divert their attention from the fortifications in leading them to hope for a pacific solution. In vain did M. de Lascours, aid-de-camp of Sebastiani, strive to enlighten the two Turkish functionaries; they did not believe that there was any danger. Suddenly, the English squadron made its appearance, and cast anchor in the roads of Tenedos, where it joined the three vessels of the Russian admiral. Then, on the 19th of February, 1807, at daybreak, taking advantage of a favourable wind and the Feast of Beïram, which made the Turks careless in guarding the batteries, Admiral Duckworth forced the passage of the Dardanelles with nine ships of the line, three frigates, and several fire-ships. The Capudan-pacha, warned, endeavoured to repair his negligence; but, terrified by some English cannon-balls which penetrated a battery wherein he was, he retired under pretext of giving orders to the fleet. The gunners immediately thereupon threw down their mops and rammers, the French officers alone remaining at their posts. The English fleet, however, found the Turkish fleet near Nagara Point (Gallipoli), and burnt it, a brig only escaping, which threw Constantinople into consternation by announcing the arrival of the enemy. At four o'clock the English ships cast anchor off Princes' Islands, and an envoy was despatched with the ultimatum of Sir C. Arbuthnot. Shortly afterwards the French officers arrived from the Dardanelles, where they had been abandoned by the Turks, and made known the conduct of the Capudan-pacha and Feyzi Effendi. The Divan deprived the former of his possessions and dignities, and condemned the latter to death; then, believing all was lost, it decided upon submission to the conditions of the

English. Those conditions were the immediate dismissal of the French ambassador; the renewal of the alliance with England and Russia; free passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles for Russian ships of war; and the surrender of the Turkish navy, to be kept in an English port till the peace.

9. *Sebastiani decides the Sultan to offer Resistance.—Measures of Defence.—Retreat of Sir John Duckworth.*

Selim sent a messenger to Sebastiani to persuade him to quit the capital; he protested his friendship for France, and excused himself under the necessity in which he found himself, Constantinople being without defence; moreover, the populace accused the French ambassador of being the cause of the war, and the Government could scarcely answer for his life. Sebastiani received the messenger surrounded by all his officers and secretaries, and replied that he was at Constantinople by the command of his Sovereign, that he should only quit it by the same command, unless he was driven out by force. "There is nothing less at stake here," said he, "than the honour and independence of the Ottoman Empire. The fleet of Admiral Duckworth may burn a portion of the city, causing a certain number of men to perish; but, deprived of the support of a land force, he cannot seize upon this capital, even if you were to open its gates to him and deliver it up undefended. Every year you sustain losses occasioned by frequent conflagrations, losses more cruel than those inflicted by the plague: would you show less firmness for the defence of your religion and your country? The Sultan Selim will not, by a weakness unworthy of him, descend from the lofty rank in which his ancestors have placed him. Your ramparts are not armed, but you have iron, munitions, provisions, and arms; add thereto courage, and you will triumph over your enemies. I beg that you will tell your august master that I await with confidence a resolution worthy of him and of the empire

he governs."* He afterwards sent letters and agents to the Ministers, to the members of the Divan, to the Ulema, to induce them to revoke the fatal resolve, and he succeeded in awakening their pride and their confidence in themselves.

On the appearance of the English ships, however, the people of Constantinople had not shared in the terror of the Government; the Janissaries had rushed to arms, the *topchys* had manned the batteries; all seemed disposed to perish rather than submit. Sebastiani went secretly in search of the reis-effendi, and pointed out to him that the wind was contrary, that a few days would suffice to place the capital in a state of defence, and that the English could attempt nothing of a serious nature. The Minister allowed himself to be convinced and persuaded by the Grand Vizier, who obtained for Sebastiani an immediate audience of the Sultan. Selim welcomed with delight the prospect opened to him, and, some counsellors having been summoned, a discussion arose in which the general warmly explained the reasons which ought to decide the Sultan to resistance. "You cannot accede," said he, "to the insolent intimation of the English without being erased from the rank of the nations! The English fleet will burn your city, you say? Well, you will rebuild it, and your honour, at least, will have remained intact. But, mark well, the enemy cannot reach you without exposing himself to your batteries, and his dangers are a hundredfold greater than yours. Were he to annihilate your glorious capital, how could he occupy it with a handful of men? Your aggressor has against that chance the risks of fighting, of the sea, of the winds especially. Let those

* If an eye-witness may be believed (Baron Prévost, "Constantinople in 1808," in the *Revue Contemporaine* of 1854), Sebastiani had expected, for a moment, a complete check, and, notwithstanding the loftiness of his language, he made every preparation for his departure. In vain M. Ruffin, who knew the obstacles which the sea opposed to a fleet coming home from the Dardanelles, endeavoured to reassure him. Sebastiani destroyed his instructions, his correspondence and his papers of importance; his precipitation was so great that he burned also his marriage contract. A small vessel was secretly got ready, and Madame Sebastiani, then expecting her accouchement, was recommended by letter to the protection of the Austrian ministry.

fail him, not only he could not act, but he would remain at your mercy. Temporize then, negotiate slowly, for time will be in your favour; your safety and the disgrace of your enemies depend solely on your conduct."*

These words were supported by a courier just arrived from the banks of the Vistula and bearing a letter from Napoleon, full of exhortations to the Sultan. "Generous Selim," he said, "show thyself worthy of the descendants of Mahomet! Behold, the hour has come to free thyself from treaties which oppress thee. I am near thee, occupied with the reconstitution of Poland, thy friend and thy ally. One of my armies is ready to descend the Danube and take the Russians in flank, whilst you attack in front. One of my squadrons is about to sail from Toulon in order to guard thy capital and the Black Sea. Courage then, for never wilt thou find a like occasion to raise up again thy Empire and render thy memory illustrious!" The Divan, renouncing thereupon its first decision, decided in favour of resistance, and Sebastiani was charged with preparing and directing it.

The English fleet, however, having the wind contrary, had anchored off Princes' islands, and the ambassador, believing that his presence would suffice to overcome the irresolution of the Divan, negotiated instead of taking action. A note, dictated by Sebastiani, was despatched to Sir C. Arbuthnot, and gave him the hope of a prompt success; time would thus be gained. Sebastiani had his tent pitched in the gardens of the Seraglio; from thence he dispersed his officers and a hundred other Frenchmen among the batteries to direct and encourage the workers. Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews carried earth, raised parapets, dragged guns with an activity and zeal calculated to excite astonishment, and the works advanced as it were by enchantment. At the close of the first day the harbour was shut in by a double line of gunboats and seven ships of the line; 300 guns were mounted in the batteries; and in less than five days there were nearly 1,200 therein: the city was inaccessible. The enthusiasm

* Baron Prévost, "Constantinople in 1808."

went on increasing; the Sultan visited on foot the batteries under erection, and the ministers, with their chief officials, animated the workers by their presence. Sailors, on board frail barks, ventured to glide amongst the English fleet and harass the boats that were rowed from one ship to another; finally, the new Capudan-pacha was with some difficulty hindered from going to attack the English fleet.

Arbuthnot, having fallen sick, left the diplomatic direction to the admiral, who sent summons upon summons; but in proportion as the works advanced, the answers of the Turkish ministers, at first uncertain and evasive, became more and more haughty and menacing. At length, perceiving his efforts useless, and learning that behind him they were strengthening the Dardanelles, he decided to retreat (1st March). On repassing the Strait, he was rudely saluted by the castles, and lost two corvettes and 600 men.

Having reached Tenedos, the English admiral was joined there by the Russian Admiral Siniavin, who proposed that they should together repeat the attempt which had just failed. Negotiations were then attempted to be renewed with the Porte; but Sebastiani, become all powerful, himself made the replies, and the two admirals soon comprehended that there was nothing to hope for. Duckworth set sail for Malta, where he embarked 5,000 troops for a *coup de main* upon Egypt, a force wholly inadequate for such a purpose.

Meanwhile, Constantinople gave itself up to rejoicings; every one congratulated Sebastiani. The enthusiasm of Selim for the French alliance was at its height; wishing to manifest his gratitude, he went to the "green kiosk" battery, where Sebastiani was summoned to receive his public thanks; there the Sultan decorated him with the order of the Crescent of the first class, as well as the Marquis d'Almenara* and the counsellor Ruffin, whose experience and advice had, as much as the energy of Sebastiani, brought about the victory that was just obtained.

* The Spanish Ambassador who had seconded the French Ambassador.

10. *The Turks attack the Russian Fleet.—Expedition of the English against Egypt.—Mehemet Ali.*

The Turks, however, were desirous of following up their success: having learned that the Russian Fleet was still at Tenedos, the Capudan-pacha, Seyd Ali, went to give it battle; but, in spite of the bravery of his crews, he was defeated and compelled to re-enter the Dardanelles. Some signals imperfectly made or wrongly understood were the cause of that check, and the vice-admiral paid with his head for the error which the Capudan-pacha attributed to him. That attempt of the Turkish navy had, however, an advantageous result: the Russians, who had suffered much in the fight, were obliged to repair to the Ionian Islands to refit, and left free the navigation between Constantinople and the Turkish possessions in the Mediterranean,

It has been said that after leaving the Dardanelles, Admiral Duckworth had sailed for Egypt, whither England sent an expedition. The policy of Great Britain had always been favourable to keeping up relations with the Mamelukes, and it was thought that the opportunity for seizing upon that country had arrived. A glance at the events which had occurred since its evacuation by the French will suffice for the comprehension of the reasons that England had for thinking that conquest easy, and the causes which contributed to its failure.

The departure of the French had left Egypt in the power of the Turks, of some English troops landed by Admiral Keith, and of the Mamelukes. The Porte, hoping to finish the work so well begun by the French, ordered its Pacha, Mohammed-Khosrew, to interdict the sale of the Circassian and Georgian Slaves, which alimented the Mameluke corps, and gave it continuously the vigour of which the sun of the East seems to deprive the populations which it illuminates. The Pacha obeyed; but the Mamelukes, combined under their two principal beys, Osman Bardissy and Mohammed-l'Elfy, obtained, at

Saréchesmé, a complete victory over him. He imputed that defeat to the absence of a commander of 1,000 Albanians, whom he summoned to join him, with the intention of putting him to death. That chief, named Mehemet Ali, and who was born at Cavalla, in Macedonia, forewarned in time, allied himself with the Mamelukes, and opened to them the gates of Cairo; then, placing himself in the pay of Bardissy, he marched against Khosrew, drove him into Damietta, upon which he seized, took him prisoner and sent him to Cairo (July, 1803). A division arising amongst the Mamelukes, Mehemet profited by their discords to augment his troops, and at the same time his popularity among the Egyptians.

Bardissy, however, having levied enormous contributions upon the inhabitants of Cairo, the latter drove him out and restored Khosrew to power; but, Mehemet and the other Albanian chiefs refused to recognize the Pacha and made him embark for Constantinople. Kourschid succeeded him, and strove to disembarrass himself of the Albanians; but the populace, which had found a continual support in Mehemet, opposed his departure, deposed Kourschid and nominated in his place Mehemet Pacha of Egypt.

The Porte sanctioned that usurpation (9th July, 1805), under the condition of a tribute of seven millions. The new pacha raised a powerful army, re-established order in the country and sought the support of France.

The Mamelukes, however, having retired into upper Egypt, summoned the English to drive out Mehemet and the Turks, and they made a treaty with them to share the country. It was resolved that an English army should land at Alexandria, and that, whilst Mehemet should be occupied with repelling them, the Mamelukes should march upon Cairo. But the English sent only five thousand men, commanded by General Fraser: they seized upon Alexandria easily (20th March, 1807), and failed against Rosetta. Then Mehemet Ali, having left part of his troops at Cairo, shut up the English in Alexandria; Fraser was forced to capitulate (September 1807.) This

was another instance in which the strength of England was frittered away, which might have been better employed in another quarter.

At the news of the landing of the English, the Porte declared war against them, placed all their properties under sequestration, and signed its treaty of alliance with France; but England continued to act cautiously towards the Porte, and its fleets even withdrew from the seas of Syria and the Archipelago.

11. *Revolt of the Yamaks.—Deposition of the Sultan.*

Selim, however, encouraged by Napoleon, had made great preparations against Russia: the Pacha of Bosnia entered Servia to prevent the insurgents from joining hands with the Russians; the Grand Vizier, the Janissaries, and the troops from Asia directed their march upon Shumla; the Pacha of Rutschuk, Mustapha Baraïctar, with 15,000 men which he had organized himself, were to march into Wallachia. The nizam-gedittes remained to guard the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and in their cantonments in Asia.

Meanwhile, the Mufti, who was devoted to Selim, had died and been replaced by the Kadi-Asker of Roumelia, who had until then shown himself a partisan of reform, but only to win the favour of the prince: Selim had made an enemy of him. In fact, he joined Mustapha Pacha, Kaïmacan of the Grand Vizier, who was equally opposed to reforms, and both had an understanding with the Ulema and the Janissaries in order to arrest the progress of European ideas.

Since the departure of the Janissaries, 6,000 Asiatics from the environs of Trebizonde had been attached to the nizam-gedittes as a guard for the batteries of the Bosphorus. Those auxiliaries, known by the name of *Yamaks-tabielis*, or battery assistants, received the same pay as the nizam-gedittes and enjoyed the same privileges: the Sultan hoped that this treatment and the continual

contact with the nizam-gedittes would inspire them with the *esprit de corps*, and also the desire of entering their ranks. The Kaïmacan succeeded in turning against the Sultan a measure which appeared so skilful. Some of his agents, mingling amongst the Yamaks, persuaded them that they belonged naturally to the glorious corps of the Janissaries, and that it would be a shame for good Mussulmans to associate themselves with those renegades who introduced into the Empire the usages and dress of the infidels. Quarrels soon arose between the men of the two corps, and the Kaïmacan, believing that a spark would suffice to bring about a collision, sent one of his agents, Mahmoud Effendi, to distribute to the Yamaks the arrears of their pay; and he at the same time had carried with him some uniforms of the nizam-gedittes, in order to engage the Yamaks to respond to the wish of the Sultan by putting them on.

Mahmoud Effendi, after having distributed the pay, profited by the gaiety of the chiefs and soldiers to make known to them the wish of Selim; then, as the sight of the uniforms exhibited and his words raised some murmurs, he gave orders and threatened punishment if he were not obeyed. From murmurs, the Yamaks passed to revolt, and, as the nizam-gedittes took up the defence of Mahmoud Effendi, a struggle ensued. This took place in the Fort of Roumely-Kavak, upon the Coast of Europe; but the other forts were soon informed of what was passing; and everywhere the same collisions occurred. Mahmoud Effendi was killed, at the moment when disembarking at Buyukdere, he thought himself saved, and the commandant of the forts on the Asian shore shared the same fate. The nizam-gedittes took refuge in their old barracks, and the Divan ordered a search to be made for the assassins of Mahmoud Effendi; but the Kaïmacan affirmed that his death was a mere accident, and that the Yamaks were disposed to return to obedience: no precaution, therefore, was taken against them.

The Yamaks, however, had assembled together near Buyukdere, and had elected a chief to whom they gave

the power of life or death: he was named Cabakchy Oglou. Three days passed in seeming inaction; but, in reality, the Janissaries profited by it to feed the revolt.

On the 27th May, Cabakchy Oglou entered Constantinople at the head of six hundred Yamaks whom he made take oath: 1. To respect the person and property of every Frank, rayah or Turk, whomsoever, under pain of death; 2. To enter upon no action which had not been previously approved by the mufti and by the interpreters of the laws; 3. To repair all together to the Atmeïdan, and there, united in a general assembly, to formulate the demands to be presented to the Porte. A naked sabre was placed on the ground, over which all stepped; it was thus they took the oath.* No opposition presented itself to the proceedings of the conspirators, for the nizam-gedittes had been consigned to their barracks, and the Sultan had refused to place himself at their head; from seven to eight hundred Janissaries and about two hundred sailors joined the Yamaks; lastly, the gunners allowed themselves to be won over by the promise of preserving their pay and their privileges.

Cabakchy Oglou then went to encamp upon the square of the Atmeïdan, where he had the flesh-pots of every oda of the Janissaries brought; then he read a list of proscription upon which figured in the first line the counsellors and ministers of the Sultan. Thereupon groups of the conspirators were detached to execute those sentences, and seventeen heads of the principal dignitaries of the empire soon appeared in a row before the tribunal of the chief of the revolt.

Selim, however, terrified, had issued a hatti-cherif which suppressed the Corps of the nizam-gedittes; but it was too late. Cabakchy Oglou, addressing the assemblage, enquired whether, in order to guarantee the future from the errors of the past, the Sultan ought to retain power. The rebels replied in the negative. The mufti was consulted under the following insidious formula: "Does

* Letter of M. Vernazza to General Marmont.

a padishah who, by his conduct and his laws, combats the religious principles consecrated by the Korân, deserve to remain upon the throne?" "No," replied he; and the multitude immediately shouted with acclamation for Sultan Mustapha.

The mufti went to intimate to Selim the deposition which had just been pronounced, and he fulfilled that mission with a hypocrisy which deceived the prince as to his personal sentiments. Selim resigned himself to the inevitable and went to the Old Seraglio to take the place of his successor (29th May, 1807).

12. *Mustapha IV.* (*29th May*, 1807 *to* 28*th July*, 1808).—*Peace of Tilsit.*

Mustapha IV., son of Abdul Ahmed, had always been opposed to the reforms attempted by his cousin, and long since a letter of his had been circulated in which he spoke of the wrath of the Prophet, of the intolerable audacity of the Christians, and attributed the defeat of the Ottoman armies to Selim's predilection for European customs. "All is over with us!" he exclaimed in conclusion, "Heaven cannot bless our arms." Young, moreover, and loving pleasure, he could be and was, in fact, only an instrument.

He confirmed in their employments the ministers whom the fury of the rebels had spared, sent back to the castles on the Bosphorus the Yamaks, who received a gratification, and confirmed the election which they had made of Cabakchy Oglou as commandant of the forts. The nizam-gedittes had not waited, before their dispersion, until they should be besieged in their barracks; and when the victors presented themselves, they had nothing to do but to pillage.

The principal chiefs of the army, however, did not look with a favourable eye upon this revolution, accomplished, if not against them, against their protector; the Aga of the Janissaries, who was a partisan of the reforms, daring

to say that the Janissaries remaining in Constantinople were dishonoured by joining the Yamaks, his soldiers massacred him.

These events rendered military operations null; happily for Turkey, all the forces of the Russians were engaged against France, and, at the news of the battle of Friedland, the army in Moldavia was speedily seen in full retreat.

The downfall of Selim had the most disastrous influence upon the policy of Napoleon: on hearing of it, he exclaimed: "One can do nothing with these barbarians! Providence releases me from them; let us arrange for ourselves at their expense." He returned, therefore, to the policy of the Court of Louis XVI., to his own ideas relative to the inevitable ruin of the Ottoman Empire, to the necessity of the Russian alliance, indispensable, moreover, for the conquest of England. Thus, the Treaty of Tilsit was concluded upon the basis of the complete abandonment of Turkey by France. It was therein stipulated (Articles 22, 23, 24) that hostilities should cease between Turkey and Russia, after an armistice should be concluded between the Russian and Ottoman negociators, in presence of a French commissioner; that, in the space of thirty-five days which should follow the signature of the armistice, the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia should be evacuated by the Russians without the Turks being allowed to enter therein before the conclusion of peace between the two powers; in fine, that the differences between the Sublime Porte and the Court of St. Petersburg should be regulated in a definitive treaty under the mediation of France.

The Turks were stupified at the Treaty of Tilsit, at the abandonment of France, at the mode in which Napoleon regulated without them their difference with Russia—they who had been led to hope for the restitution of Bessarabia and the Crimea! What would they have said had they known of the secret treaty which contained this article: "If in consequence of the changes that have happened at Constantinople the Ottoman Porte does not

accept the mediation of France, or if, after having accepted it, it happens that, in a delay of three months after the negotiations, they should not have led to a satisfactory result, France shall make common cause with Russia against the Ottoman Porte, and the two high contracting parties shall have an understanding with each other to withdraw all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the city of Constantinople and the province of Roumelia excepted, from the yoke and vexations of the Turks."*

The Ottoman Court had often complained of the abandonment in which France had left it in the midst of wars raised up by her: thus had she done when Louis XIV. treated without it at Ryswick, when Louis XV. left to it all the burden of the Polish war; but want of faith had never been more scandalous than that of Napoleon! never also had a bad policy been more cruelly punished! for the abandonment of the Turks at Tilsit was not one of the least causes which sent the great man to St. Helena!

On the 9th July General Guilleminot set out from Tilsit to carry the treaty to the Russians and the Turks upon the Danube: the one and the other accepted the mediation of France and acceded to a treaty in that which concerned them, and an armistice was signed on the 24th August at Slobosia, in presence of the French commissioner; but, when the discussions for a definitive arrangement were opened, an understanding could not be arrived at, and the parties separated without concluding anything. Nevertheless, hostilities were not resumed until two years afterwards; but Wallachia and Moldavia remained in the hands of the Russians; and a controversy was about to arise on the subject, between Napoleon and Alexander, which was destined to bring about the rupture of their alliance.

* From the correspondence of Napoleon with Sebastiani, the partition would have been as follows: France would have had Bosnia, Albania, Epirus, all Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia; Austria would have had Servia; Russia would have had Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Thrace, as far as the Maritza. There would have remained to Turkey (in Europe), Constantinople, with the portion of Thrace comprised between Bourgas and Enos.

The cabinet of London, however, aware of the vivid resentment of the Porte against France, secretly entered upon negotiations with it for the renewal of their interrupted relations. Sebastiani was informed of it by the first dragoman, Prince Soutzo; he exclaimed against the perfidy of the Turkish ministers, who betrayed their master's interests, and demanded his passports. The Divan, terrified, broke off the negotiations, but avenged itself by causing the dragoman Soutzo to be decapitated (31st October 1807).

Cabakchi Oglou was the friend of Soutzo; he strove to save his life by raising his Yamaks: but failing, he conceived a violent hatred against the Kaïmacan, and united himself with the Mufti to overthrow him. A simple demonstration of the Yamaks sufficed to send Mustapha Pacha into exile. Sebastiani, seeing the power of Cabakchi, who had become the idol of the populace, succeeded in gaining him over to the side of France; thanks to that personage, notwithstanding the stipulations of Tilsit, he resumed the influence which he had had under Selim, and made his will prevail in the counsels of the Porte. His position, however, at Constantinople had become very embarrassing: he was daily reproached for the pompous promises he had made to the Turks and the abandonment in which they had been left; he demanded and obtained his recall. M. de Latour Maubourg succeeded him.

13. *The Conspiracy of Baraïctar.—Deposition of Mustapha IV.*

The Turkish Empire had long been in a declining state. The Sultans were little more than the puppets of the Janissaries. The reforms attempted by Selim III. had terminated in his deposition in 1807, as already stated. Mustapha Baraïctar, Pacha of Rustchuk, who was entirely devoted to the person and ideas of Selim, was indignant at seeing the Empire governed by the Mufti and the Chief of the Yamaks. He excited the jealousy of the Grand

Vizier, who was encamped at Adrianople, and he offered him his co-operation towards overthrowing the usurpers of his authority. The Grand Vizier accepted his offers, placed himself in relation with the partisans whom he had at Constantinople, and summoned to him the troops of Baraïctar in order to restrain the Janissaries. The Pacha of Rustchuk whose secret object was the re-establishment of Selim, began his march upon Constantinople with 16,000 men devoted to his cause and determined to put an end to the tyranny of the Yamaks. Some horsemen, whom he sent on in advance, surprised Cabakchi in the middle of the night and put him to death. The Yamaks learned at the same time the death of their chief, the march of the army, and the firman which appointed Baraïctar commander of the forts; they ran to arms.

The Grand Vizier, however, having arrived within four leagues of Constantinople, sent the Reis-Effendi to announce to the Sultan that he was coming to deliver him from the domination of the Yamaks and the Mufti. Mustapha immediately decreed the suppression of the Yamaks, the replacement of the Mufti, and he went himself to the camp of his pretended liberators. Baraïctar having welcomed him with tokens of the deepest submission, the Sultan returned to Constantinople. A few days after, Baraïctar forcibly took away the seals from the Grand Vizier, made him prisoner; then entering the city, he announced that peace was made with Russia, and that he was bringing back to the Seraglio the banner of the Prophet. The people, elated, accompanied him as far as the first gateway. The Janissaries allowed the conspirators to pass in; but the *bostandji-bashi* ordered the entrance to the second court to be closed and declared that it should only be opened by an order from the Sultan. Baraïctar, who already thought himself master of the situation, caused the gates to be forced, proclaimed Selim, and rushed eagerly within the interior of the palace; but, on entering the hall of audience, he there found the body of his master extended on the pavement. Mustapha had just ordered him to be strangled (28th July, 1808).

Baraïctar, stupefied, knelt down weeping beside the inanimate remains, and seemed overwhelmed with grief. At that moment the Capudan-Pacha, Seyd Ali, one of the principal heads of the conspiracy, said to him: "Does it become the Pacha of Rustchuk to weep like a woman? It is vengeance and not tears that Sultan Selim requires of us; let us punish his assassins, and especially do not let us allow a sanguinary tyrant to profit by his crime and strengthen himself on the throne by the death of his brother, the Sultan Mahmoud."

Baraïctar, on recovering from his stupefaction, ordered Mustapha to be flung into the same prison which Selim had tenanted; Mahmoud, the half-brother of Mustapha, twenty-three years of age, was proclaimed, and, a few days after, went to gird on the sword of Othman in the mosque of Eyoub.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF MAHMOUD II. TO THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE (1808-1829).

1. *Sway and Downfall of Baraïctar.*

THE new Sultan Mahmoud II., never forgot under what circumstances he had ascended the throne. He had been the confidant of the unfortunate Selim since his deposition, and he was determined that reform should triumph, but knew what obstacles he had to surmount, and only advanced towards his object with the greatest reserve and most profound dissimulation.

Baraïctar was made Grand Vizier, and his first act was to put to death the assassins of Selim and the favourites of Mustapha; he caused, moreover, the majority of the Yamak chiefs, who promoted the insurrection, to be strangled; and finally, he had sewn up in sacks and flung into the Bosphorus, 174 women of Mustapha's harem. Then, having become sole master of the Government, he resumed the plans of reform attempted by Selim, but carried them out with more prudence. He convoked at Constantinople, the greater part of the pachas and ayans of the Empire, and asked their approval of the following measures: 1. The destruction of venality of employments in the *ortas;* 2. Obligation for all the unmarried Janissaries to live in barracks; 3. Deprivation of the pay of Janissaries not in barracks and not on active service; 4. Obligation of the Janissaries to take up arms and practise exercises which give superiority to the infidel armies; 5. The formation of companies of *neymens*, who should be chosen from among the young Mussulmans, armed in the European mode, paid like

the *toptchys* and bound by the ancient discipline of the Janissaries.

All that was approved; the old chief of the nizam-gedittes, Kadi Pacha, engaged even to remain at Constantinople with 3,000 men in order to support the reforms; finally the new Mufti gave him by his *fetwa* a religious confirmation.

Baraïctar, strengthened by these assents, set to work, but with extreme laxity and exhibiting the passions and cupidity of a vulgar ambition he allowed the corps of *seymens* to be composed of the refuse only of the populace; he offended the high functionaries by depriving them of the *timars* he had allotted them, and appropriating them to his own profit; he threatened the property of the mosques and put up to auction the offices in the Seraglio; at length, he soon had against him, not only the Janissaries and the Ulema, but those who had joined him in the destruction of the Yamaks. An incident gave rise to an insurrection which served to bring back to power the partisans of old abuses and the old *régime*.

On the third day before the end of the Ramazan (14th November, 1808), Baraïctar, going to pay a visit to the Mufti, found one of the streets blocked up by a crowd. He ordered his *tchiaoux* to disperse it by striking the people with their sticks. This act of brutality became, in the coffee houses, to which at that time the people flocked, the occasion of threatening murmurs; groups formed, and the chief ulema, thinking the opportunity favourable, repaired to the abode of the Aga of the Janissaries, there to concert a rising. The Janissaries set fire to the houses that stood near the Grand Vizier's palace, and easily dispersed the guards, who did not consider themselves bound to extinguish the flames. Baraïctar, startled out of his sleep, lost his presence of mind, took refuge in a tower and perished therein, suffocated by the conflagration. However, the Capudan-Pacha, who was devoted to him, ordered two ships that were in port to bring their broadsides to bear facing the abode of the Aga, and to fire upon every one who should show himself there; on the other

hand, Kadi Pacha left the moiety of his troops to keep Scutari in check, and penetrated with the rest into the interior of the Seraglio in order to defend the Sultan; finally the gunners and the new *seymens* got under arms.

The Aga of the Janissaries himself hastened to attack the Seraglio; Kadi Pacha made a sortie at the head of 4,000 men, and everywhere repulsed the assailants; but, his soldiers having separated in search of pillage, he was obliged to fall back. The conflagration, however, which no one thought of arresting, made rapid progress. Mahmoud, touched at the sight, ordered Kadi Pacha to cease hostilities, and sent a *hatti-cherif* to the Aga of the Janissaries which ordered him to arrest the progress of the fire. The crowd, emboldened by those measures, and by the discovery of Baraïctar's body, demanded with furious outcries the deposition of Mahmoud and the heads of his defenders. The Sultan, after having effected the escape of his chief ministers, caused his brother Mustapha IV. to be strangled (17th November, 1808), and having thus become inviolable as being the last descendant of Othman, he showed himself to the crowd and ordered it to disperse.

The insurrection calmed down, and Mahmoud having given up the head of Kadi Pacha to the Janissaries, the latter submitted, the Mufti congratulated the people upon the triumph of law and religion, and the reign of order was again entirely restored.

2. *Discussion of Napoleon and Alexander upon the Turkish Empire. Resumption of hostilities with Russia. Treaty of Bucharest.*

These continual revolutions, which so clearly testified to the deplorable condition into which the empire of the Osmanli had fallen, induced Russia to solicit Napoleon to put into execution the project of the partition of the Ottoman Empire. "Turkey," said Alexander, "is a succession which cannot fail to fall to Russia, in failure of heirs." And he no longer contented himself with the

share promised him, but demanded Constantinople and the Straits. The French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Caulincourt, strove to make Alexander comprehend the impossibility of giving Constantinople and the Dardanelles to the Russians; he represented that Russia would become by that mistress of the commerce of the Levant and even of India, and she would, when she desired it, be at the gates of Corfu, Toulon, &c. Alexander replied that "Constantinople would merely be for Russia a provincial city at the extremity of the Empire, that geography gave it her, that it was necessary that he should hold the key of his house," &c. And, to bring his ally to that great concession, he begged, caressed, grew angry, menaced; he consented to everything, he promised all that was desired, he manipulated over again the whole world. "Were it upon the breach, we are with you," said he; "it is in difficult circumstances that the Emperor will be found faithful." Russian ambition had never shown itself more frank and eager.

Napoleon was not left long to regret the promises made at Tilsit and to perceive the great error he had committed. He eluded the demands of Alexander and even all idea of definitive partition of the Ottoman Empire. "We ought," he said "to delay the ruin of that Empire until the moment at which the partition of those vast remains can be effected without having to fear that England may come to appropriate, by the acquisition of Egypt and the isles, the richest of the spoils."

At that juncture the French armies had just experienced, in Spain, their first reverses, and Austria was preparing threatening armaments. Napoleon, having exhausted his dilatory replies and wishing to preserve the Russian alliance at any price, resolved to make concessions touching Turkey; he proposed to Alexander an interview at Erfurt. A secret convention was concluded there (12th Oct 1808): the Emperor recognized the Czar's possession of Wallachia, Moldavia and of Finland, recently torn from Sweden, and promised not to re-establish the kingdom of Poland. The two monarchs engaged to

treat with England only on the condition "that she should recognize Finland, Moldavia and Wallachia as making part of the Russian Empire."

The English Ministry had knowledge of that treaty, in which Napoleon abandoned the true policy of France in order to satisfy his momentary interests, and it availed itself of it to renew its negotiations with the Porte. This time, the Divan consented to make peace, in order to gain a protectress in England: the treaty was signed January 5, 1809.

Turkey endeavoured also to make its peace with Russia; but, in the conferences held at Jassy, the latter showed such unreasonableness, that hostilities, suspended in fact since the treaty of Tilsit, were recommenced immediately. The Turks, in the outset, were beaten at Slobodzie (April 1, 1809); they lost Giurgevo and Isakchi, and thus left the right bank of the Danube open to the Russians. They sought to take their revenge at the battle of Tartaritza (October 22); but the affair remained indecisive, either party claiming the victory. They were not more fortunate in Asia, where they lost that important place on the Phasis, Poti.

The victories of the Russians, far from disquieting Napoleon, afforded him an opportunity of making known to the Corps Legislatif his close alliance with Alexander. On December 3, 1809, he expressed himself thus: "The Illyrian Provinces carry to the Save the frontiers of my great Empire. Contiguous with the Empire of Constantinople, I shall find myself in a natural situation to watch over the interests of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and the Levant. I shall protect the Porte, if the Porte tears itself away from the fatal influence of England; I shall know how to punish it if it permits itself to be dominated by crafty and perfidious counsels. My friend and ally the Emperor of Russia has reunited to his vast empire Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a district of Galicia. I am not jealous of anything that may happen fortunately for that Empire."

In the following spring, the Russians, commanded by

Kaminsky, took Varna, Bazardjik and Silistria. Then the Grand Vizier demanded to treat; the Czar sent him the following conditions of peace: "The cession of Moldavia and Wallachia in Europe, of Georgia in Asia, the removal of the English Ambassador, and an indemnity of forty thousand purses; moreover, Varna, Rustchuk, Silistria and Schumla should be occupied by his troops until complete payment of the indemnity." These conditions having been rejected, Kaminsky marched upon Schumla, from which he was repulsed; but he obtained a complete victory over the Grand Vizier, who had come to the succour of Rustchuk; 200 standards, 80 pieces of cannon, the Ottoman flotilla and all the transport vessels, laden with provisions for the re-victualling of the besieged place, were the price of that great success, which was shortly completed by the surrender of Rustchuk (September, 1810).

The campaign of 1811 was undertaken by the Russians with diminished forces, for the Czar saw himself on the eve of a rupture with France; thus the Turks obtained at first great advantages; they re-took Rustchuk and crossed the Danube; but shortly, through the fault of their generals, they found themselves surrounded and forced to sign a convention (November 8), by which they were obliged to the number of 30,000, to lay down their arms and be treated as prisoners of war if the Porte did not consent to make peace on the conditions before imposed by Russia.

The news of this convention irritated the Sultan deeply, who ordered the levy of a fresh army, and seemed disposed to place himself at its head. The moment seemed favourable to take a revenge: hostilities between Alexander and Napoleon seemed imminent, and Mahmoud knew that, by a treaty concluded on the 14th of March, France and Austria had stipulated the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. It was believed, moreover, that Napoleon would make Turkey enter into the plan of his campaign, and that that army of Dalmatia, so often offered to Selim, would march at length upon the Danube. "Turkey," said

he, "is the marsh which hinders my right being turned." Thus, negotiations having been opened at Bucharest between the Porte and Russia, he strove to break them by promising to the Sultan the restitution of the Danubian provinces and the Crimea. But the Divan, which a sacrifice of some millions had decided, feared an abandonment like to that which followed Tilsit; besides, the gold of England played a weighty part in its decision; in fine, it betrayed the Sultan Mahmoud, and missed the most brilliant opportunity which ever presented itself to repair the losses of Turkey, by signing, the 28th of May, 1812, the treaty of Bucharest. By that treaty the Russians restored Wallachia and Moldavia, but they kept Bessarabia, the places situate between Galatz and the Black Sea, with one of the mouths of the Danube. Servia was bound to return under the domination of the Porte, some illusory guarantees being stipulated in her favour.

Mahmoud felt all the shame of such a treaty: he refused at first to ratify it; the menaces of the Janissaries constrained him to it. Admiral Tchitchakof, who had succeeded to Kutusof in the command of the army of Moldavia, wished to urge Turkey to an alliance offensive and defensive, which should permit an attack upon the French Empire by way of Dalmatia. The Divan refused, and persisted to remain neuter in the great struggle which was about to drench in blood the north of Europe. The treaty of Bucharest was not the less one of the causes of the ruin of Napoleon, of whom the right was turned by that army of Moldavia which the French in retreat found upon the banks of the Beresina! The abandonment of Bucharest had sorrowfully avenged the abandonment of Tilsit, and Turkey had herself committed suicide in not having seconded Napoleon in his audacious invasion of Russia.

3. *Sequel of the Servian Insurrection.*

It has just been said that at Bucharest the Court of St. Petersburg had stipulated in favour of Servia: it is

necessary to go back a little in order to see what had been the result of the insurrection in that country.

It has been said that after the battle of Czabatz, won by Czerni-Georges, the Pacha of Scutari had treated with the Serbs, to whom he left a kind of independence, but that that accord had been rejected by the Ottoman troops. Czerni-Georges seized upon the city of Belgrade and besieged the citadel. The Pacha of Belgrade, Soliman, abandoned by the Divan to his own resources, capitulated on condition that he should retire with the garrison; but, at some leagues from the city, he was massacred with his followers. That was the signal for the expulsion, for the spoliation or massacre of all the Turks: the Serbs gave themselves up to horrible vengeance against their ancient masters; the children were cut to pieces, the women disembowelled or reduced to slavery. Servia then became a vast field in which numerous military chiefs, or voïvodes, acted independently, and shared between themselves the property of the Turks: Czerni-Georges dominated in Schumadia, Milan Obrenovich at Rudnik, from Vonitza to Semendria, &c. The country was delivered from the Ottoman domination, but found itself abandoned to anarchy. An end was endeavoured to be put to this by electing a senate, or *soviet*, composed of twelve members, who were desirous of subjecting to its authority the divers voïvodes; but it had no force to make its decisions respected. Some could have wished to reattach Servia to Turkey by giving her a condition analogous to that of the Danubian provinces; others sought for a protector either in Russia or Austria, or in France. Georges addressed himself to the Governor of the Illyrian provinces in order to offer to Napoleon the protectorate of the Slavs of Turkey; the Emperor merely responded to this offer by presenting to the Serb chief a sabre incrusted with gold. Alexander sent to the insurgents one of his counsellors, arms, money, and promised them his support if they would accept the Russian protectorate with a Fanariote prince.

However, in 1809, the Serbs, led by Milosch and Dobriniatz, attacked the Turks from the side of Nissa,

whilst Czerni-Georges entered Bosnia and besieged Novi-Bazar. But the two first chiefs were defeated; the Turks retook all the country situate to the right of the Morava; Czerni-Georges evacuated Bosnia; the Bosniacs laid siege to Losnitza. Servia was thought to be lost, and the greater part of the voïvodes demanded that the Czar should be proclaimed sovereign of the country. A general assembly of the nation took place in January, 1810, to decide the question; no understanding could be arrived at, and the members contented themselves with sending deputies to the Russian Quarter-General to ask for aid.

However, the Pacha of Nissa advanced with 30,000 men, ravaged the country, and thus forced the men charged with the defence of the fortified places to abandon them in order to succour their families. Georges succeeded in repulsing him, and he snatched from the Bosniacs a splendid victory, of which he thus gave account:—"We were mingled together, and we fought for two hours with the sabre; we have slain many Turks and cut off many heads: they have lost five times more people than we: it is the greatest battle we have yet fought." The Turks recrossed the Drina, which became the boundary of Servia and Bosnia.

Thanks to this victory, Czerni-Georges obtained from the Senate several decrees which gave him supreme authority over all the voïvodes. He himself formulated in a kind of constitution the liberties and privileges of the Serbs. All his opposers were banished, and several risings were stifled by main force. Power being in a single hand, the Turks, whose principal troops were engaged against the Russians, dared not attempt anything against Servia. The Pacha of Nissa offered Georges to get him recognized by the Sultan as Prince of the country, but on condition that he should repudiate the protectorate of Russia. Georges, unwilling to treat without the consent of the Czar, sent the propositions of the Pacha to the Russian General; but he was badly rewarded for his good faith, for in the following spring Russia signed the treaty of Bucharest, which restored to the Turks all the fortresses

of Servia, and abandoned in reality that province to their vengeance.

The Serbs refused to recognize that Treaty and prepared themselves for resistance. Czerni-Georges issued a proclamation in which he said: "The Turks have sworn to decapitate every Serb above seven years of age, and to carry into slavery the women and children, and to make Mussulmans of them in order to colonize Servia with other people; but are not these the same Turks that we have defeated unarmed, whilst now we possess 500 cannon, seven fortresses, and forty redoubts steeped in Ottoman blood?" The Serbs, however, experienced only defeats. The Turks seized upon Negodin, Klanova, whose inhabitants they empaled, and all the country as far as the Morava (1813). Czerni-Georges fled into Hungary, and from thence into Russia; the Serbs disbanded; Semendria and Belgrade were taken, and the Turks found themselves masters of Servia. The greater part of the voïvodes fled and sought refuge upon Austrian territory; there they were arrested and treated as State prisoners.

The Divan, however, endeavoured to restore some tranquillity to the country, but that was by depriving the Serbs of all their liberties; the Moslems and other functionaries who had fled resumed their employments; the Sipahis returned and re-entered upon their timars; hordes of undisciplined Albanians garrisoned the forts and towns; every attempt at resistance was punished by tortures; more than 300 Serbs were empaled or decapitated at Belgrade.

That state of things tended to bring about a revolt; Milosch Obrenovitch, brother-in-law of Czerni-Georges, who had refused to flee with the other voïvodes, had been nominated by the Turks Knès of Rodnick. On Palm Sunday 1815, he called the people to arms, defeated an Albanian corps at Maïdan and raised the districts of Belgrade and Vallievo; the Turks were driven from their positions; the exiles returned on all sides. After a year of war in which the Ottoman troops experienced nothing but defeats, an accord was concluded between Milosch and

Maraschli, Pacha of Roumelia, by which hostilities ceased, the insurgents retained their positions and their arms, and a Servian deputation was sent to Constantinople.

That deputation was well received and found protection in the Russian ambassador, who obtained for the Serbs the following conditions: a general amnesty, the nomination of Maraschli to the Pachalic of Belgrade, with an order "to treat the Serbs as his children;" a levy of taxes by the inhabitants, recognition of civil and military authority of the Knès; installation at Belgrade of an assembly of twelve Knès elected by the inhabitants, who should assess the taxes; respect for the religion and usages of the country, &c. These conditions gave, in reality, independence to Servia. Milosch was chosen as Knès superior, not without opposition on the part of the voïvodes, whom he got rid of by murder or exile; he re-established in part the constitution given by Czerni-Georges, named himself the Knès, to whom he secured a money payment, and governed the country almost as an absolute monarch (1817).

4. *The Wahabites.—Power of Mehemet Ali.—Revolt of Ali Pacha.*

Whilst the Ottoman Empire was lessened by the independence of Servia, it grew weaker, in Eygpt, from the power that Mehemet Ali was acquiring, and in Epirus, from the usurpations of Ali Pacha.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, a formidable sect arose in Yemen, that of the Wahabites, austere and ambitious fanatics, enemies of the Mahometans, and who pretended to restore the Korân to its primitive purity. They had set themselves to wage war against the Mussulmans, had destroyed the Turkish garrisons and extended their domination throughout entire Arabia; they had even seized upon the holy cities and stopped all the caravans of pilgrims repairing to Mecca and Medina. It was a shame and a danger for Islamism, and all true

believers had supplicated for half a century the Sultans to put an end to that sacrilege. Scarcely was Mahmoud seated on the throne, ere he ordered Mehemet Ali to deliver the holy cities. The Pacha of Egypt eagerly accepted that mission, which must fix upon him the attention of the faithful; but his authority was not sufficiently established; the Mamelukes were cantoned in Upper Egypt, and he was not disposed to dispatch his troops to a distance before being rid of his enemies. To succeed in this, he employed craft and treason.

He succeeded, by dint of wheedling and allying himself with the most powerful among them, to make them leave their retreats; then he invited them to come to Cairo in order to be present at the ceremony of the investiture of his son, who was to command the expedition into Arabia. The beys came without distrust (1st March, 1811); but, when they entered the interior court of the palace, they were received with a discharge of musketry, fired point blank from every window. All perished in that snare. On the same day, the governors of the towns rode down all the Mamelukes they could surprise and massacred them. A small number succeeded in finding refuge in Abyssinia; some few later on entered into the Pacha's service. Thus ended the domination of the Mamelukes in Egypt and began that of Mehemet Ali.

The army then set out under the command of Toussoun Pacha; it seized upon Yambo, El-Omlah, Jeddah, and after a battle fought at Safrah, of Medina, the keys of which were sent to the Sultan, who caused that victory to be celebrated by grand fêtes (30th January, 1813). Two months after Mecca was taken and in like manner the keys of the city and of the Kaaba were sent to Constantinople. The war was prolonged until 1815. The Emir of the Wahabites concluded a treaty with Toussoun Pacha, who died shortly after; but, as he refused to repair to Constantinople in order to implore pardon of the Sultan he was besieged in his capital by Ibrahim, another son of Mehemet; obliged to surrender, he was sent to Constantinople and decapitated (1818).

That expedition confirmed the power of the Pacha of Egypt, who began to utilize the germs of civilization which the French had left in the country. He caused the canal from Alexandria to Cairo to be dug, commenced the formation of a regular army which was instructed and disciplined by Frenchmen, organized a navy, caused to be constructed at Alexandria, by engineers of the same nation, an arsenal and factories. At the same time his sons made the conquest of the countries neighbouring upon Egypt: the oasis of Syouah, the Kordofan, the Darfour, became tributaries of Mehemet, who began to nourish projects of independence.

Napoleon, however, had fallen under the blows of coalesced Europe; but Turkey had taken no part in that gigantic struggle, in which she might have made so great a figure; she seemed to be placed, by her frequent revolutions, the weakness of her Government, the nullity of her military resources, outside the civilized States; and, in fact, she was not admitted among the Powers which remodelled the map of Europe, at the Congress of Vienna. She regarded everything that passed around and about her with an incurable apathy, which seemed the index of an approaching death. Thus the English, in 1818, could bombard Algiers without her raising a protest; they could seize upon the Ionian Islands without her testifying the slightest fear; she thought herself sufficiently indemnified by the cession of Parga.

After the battle of Nicopolis (1798), Parga had been menaced by Ali Pacha, and she had only escaped him thanks to the Russians, who had occupied it; then it had returned, after the Treaty of Tilsit, into the hands of France, who had placed therein a small garrison. The inhabitants, believing that that garrison was disposed to deliver them up to the Pacha of Janina, secretly summoned the English and gave up their city (1813), under the condition that it should never be ceded to the Turks. Notwithstanding that condition, England disgraced herself by consenting to sell Parga and its territory to Ali Pacha (1817); but the entire population preferred rather

to abandon the city and retire to the Ionian Islands than to fall into the hands of the tyrant of Epirus.

Ali Pacha, however, who had ceased to pension the members of the Divan, had only enemies at Constantinople. He refused the contingents and the tributes demanded of him; he stifled by capital punishments the complaints of the people whom he squeezed; he seemed, in his mountains and his stronghold of Janina, in which he had amassed, it was said, a treasure of a hundred and fifty millions, to laugh at all the power of the Sultan. In the end, Mahmoud, who was silently working to regain his authority, resolved to strike that rebel. Ali having caused to be assassinated one of his enemies in the very streets of Constantinople, he was declared *fermanli* (excommunicated) and summoned to appear before the tribunal of the Sultan in forty days. He strove in vain to interest England in his defence, who had always supported him; then he sought resources in the populations whom he had oppressed, and his cause found itself thus allied to that of the independence of Greece.

5. *The Hetæria. — Insurrection of Greece. — Attempt of Ypsilanti.*

The Greeks, like the greater part of the peoples conquered by the Turks, had accepted with resignation an authority that only demanded tributes and respected their religion and their municipal institutions. Thus men the most influential among them were seen to take upon themselves voluntarily the civil administration under the name of *primats* or of *Khodja-bachis.** Two classes only

* These primats have already been spoken of (vol. i. p. 128). Here is what they were at the epoch of the Greek revolution: "Become intermediaries between the Government and the rayahs, the primats necessarily acquired power in their provinces, and too often abused it in a manner shameful to themselves and grievous to the people. With very few exceptions, the Khodja-bachis, during the whole course of the revolution, showed themselves as vile as might be expected from the system under which they had lived. Rendered effeminate by a life passed amidst the adulations of their followers, rampant under the Turks, who, unable to cope with their finesse and skill,

escaped from the Mussulman domination, the mountaineers, who, sheltered in the gorges of Pindus and Parnassus, could not be subdued, and became, like those of Servia and Macedonia, brigands under the name of *klepts* or *palikars;* the islanders and the inhabitants of the maritime towns, who applied their quick intelligence to commerce, and became the natural intermediaries of the Ottomans with the Westerns. That second class of the population rapidly lost the *esprit* of locality or tribe; being better instructed, it nourished itself with recollections of antiquity; in fine, it conceived the idea of the resurrection of the Greek fatherland: it is from that source the emancipators have sprung, and if the *palikars* came from the mountains, it was in the islands and upon the coasts that the *hetæria* had its birth.

The French expedition to Egypt, as insensate as it was brilliant, had had the result of ruining entirely their commercial establishments in the Levant: the Greeks became the inheritors of them. Profiting by the great struggle between France and England, which gave up the Mediterranean to them, under cover of the Turkish flag, giving the impulse to their aptitude for seafaring pursuits, they carried on, especially those of the islands of Hydra and Psara, a commerce so considerable, that in 1815 they possessed 600 vessels, whose crews numbered 30,000 men. The new class of ship-owners and merchants disputed the influence of the primats; it sent its children to be educated abroad; it founded schools not only in the islands, but in Asia Minor, and even at Constantinople; it condensed its forces, its thoughts, its aspirations, in societies which appeared entirely literary, and which speedily became

looked upon them as necessary evils, having just that which was required of education to deceive the masters and tyrannize over the slaves, living in a continual terror, although inflated with a vain puerility, they were instruments ready made for oppression, and ordinarily shared the prey. The views of the high clergy nearly coincided with those of the primats, considering that they had always acted in concert, and that the latter, in the matter of dignity, yielded precedence to the clergy. The design of one and the other, in fomenting insurrection, after having rid themselves of the Turks, was to monopolize all power to their own profit and to constitute an oligarchy."
Gordon, "History of the Greek Revolution."

political. The most important was the *hetæria* (ἑταιρεια, association), founded by three obscure Greeks, a society the object of which seemed to be the propagation of Christian instruction and religious publications among the populations of Greece; its treasury was at Munich, but its head was at St. Petersburg, and its centre at Constantinople; its emissaries were spread throughout every province. The founders affirmed that the Emperor of Russia was the supreme chief of it; and that it had the immediate support of Capo d'Istria, Minister of the Czar. As early as 1817, almost all the Klepts of Pindus, the Mainotes of the Morea, the primats of the interior and the coasts, the merchants and the sailors of the Archipelago, were affiliated to the hetæria. It was then that Czerni-Georges quitted Kiev, where he was living in retirement, and directed his steps secretly towards Servia; his object was to procure the revolt of that country, and, whilst the attention and forces of Turkey should be drawn to that side, the whole of Greece should rise and give a hand to the hetærists of Wallachia; the Turks would be driven back into Asia, and the cross replaced upon the dome of St. Sophia. But upon his arrival on Servian territory, Czerni-Georges was assassinated by the emissaries of Milosch; his head was sent to Constantinople, and Milosch, in recompense, was acknowledged prince or Knès superior of Servia. Russia hastened to disavow the projects of Czerni-Georges, and the hetæria still continued secretly its intrigues during three years.

In 1820, at the epoch when almost the whole of Europe was seething with revolutionary ideas, when a fever for liberty agitated all minds, the hetærist propaganda assumed the gravest proportions, and tended almost overtly to the emancipation of Greece. The war of the Porte against Ali Pacha precipitated its movement.

Great preparations had been made by the Divan to overcome the rebel. A fleet commanded by the Capudan-Pacha went to the attack and seizure of Parga, then Prevesa, whilst an army of 20,000 men traversed Greece and Epirus, and after ravaging them went to besiege Janina.

In that great danger, Ali, who long had had relations with the hetæria, summoned the Klepts, even the Suliotes to his defence, and thus presented himself as the patron of the liberty of the Greeks. In order to excite them to take up arms, he put into circulation a genuine or supposititious letter of Halet Effendi, favourite of the Sultan, in which was revealed a project to exterminate all the Christians. The latter hesitated between the cause of the Turks and that of the Pacha: they had even at first offered their services to the Seraskier of the Ottoman army; but the harshness with which they were received, and the publication of Halet Effendi's letter, decided them to revolt. The Suliotes, commanded by the heroic Botzaris, retired within their mountains and formed the nucleus of a formidable league of all the *armatolis* against the Turks. For the hetæria, the Pacha of Janina was the means of revolt; for the Pacha, the hetæria was the means of resistance; they only understood one another in the common object of destroying the authority of the Sultan.* The emissaries of Ali and of the hetæria traversed the whole of Greece and summoned her to arms: the moment seemed to them come to entangle the Ottoman power in a series of insurrections, from the Maïna to Moldavia.

Some Turkish troops, who marched from the Morea upon Janina, having outraged the inhabitants of Patras (February 12, 1821), the town revolted, and the insurrection gained over Gastouni, Kalavryta, &c. The Kaïmacan of Tripolitza enjoined all the bishops and primates of the Morea to come in to him, with the intention of putting them to death. The archbishop of Patras, Germanos, arrived at Kalavryta, declared that he would go no further, that the times were fulfilled, that the reign of the cross had commenced (March, 1821). Fifteen hundred Greeks ranged themselves under the sacred standard; the Turks were driven out on all sides and sought refuge in Lepanto. The citadel of Patras bombarded the town, reducing it very soon to a mere heap of ruins; it was

* "L'Orient" (1718–1845), par M. de Malherbe, tom. ii. p. 504.

besieged by 10,000 Greeks, commanded by Germanos, and that prelate made an appeal by a letter addressed to the Christian consuls. "The Hellenes," said he, "delivered up to the increasing oppression of the Turks, who have sworn to annihilate them, have unanimously taken the resolution to throw off the yoke or perish. We have risen in arms to avenge our injuries and uphold our rights. We are persuaded that the Christian Powers will recognize the justice of our cause and will lend us aid and succour, when they recall to mind how largely our ancestors have been useful to humanity." Yousouf, Pacha of Seres, hurriedly put to flight those undisciplined bands, and massacred all the population; 3,000 Greeks were saved by the French consul, Pouqueville, the historian of that horrible war. In spite of that catastrophe, the Maïna, Arcadia, and Messenia followed the movement; Bœotia rose; its inhabitants took Livadia and therein massacred 2,000 Turks; Odysseus raised the Dorida; Dikaïos, the Megara; Procopius, the Elide, &c.

The insurrection, however, had begun in the North. The Hetæria had then at its head Alexander Ypsilanti, son of the late hospodar of Wallachia, aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, who had devoted the whole of his fortune to the work of Greek emancipation. He had, it was asserted, the assent of the Czar, who, consulted upon the opportunity of the insurrection, is said to have replied: "If Greece entire rises, my Cossacks shall march to second her." Ypsilanti then repaired to Jassy (March 5, 1821), and there posted up the following proclamation: "Hellenes, the hour has struck; it is time to shake off the yoke and to avenge our religion and our country. On all sides our brothers and friends are ready to second us: the Serbs, the Suliotes, all Epirus, are in arms and summon us. Forward! Hellenes, forward! and we shall see a formidable Power protect our rights."

On this appeal, Michael Soutzo, hospodar of Moldavia, resigned his authority into the hands of the chief of the Hetæria, and enrolled himself under the banner of independence with a troop of young men belonging to

the first families. Ypsilanti left to him the direction of the movement, passed into Wallachia, there formed the *sacred battalion*, and entered Bucharest; but he really only found there support among the educated youth and in the populace: the Roumanians had difficulty in recognizing their cause in a rising made in the name of Hellas. Some days after the departure of Ypsilanti, the Russian consul protested, by the order of his Government, against the enterprise, and declared "that it was the effect of the exaltation which characterized the epoch, as well as of the inexperience and thoughtlessness of a young man." Two days after, Michael Soutzo was driven out of Jassy by the Moldavian boyards. Shortly after, an ukase of the Czar deprived Ypsilanti of his rank, and the Russian Minister at Constantinople promised the Sultan the neutrality and friendship of his master. Austria declared emphatically that she disapproved of the insurrection.

6. *Execution of the Greek Patriarch.—Insurrection of the Isles.—Progress of the Insurrection.*

At the news of the rising of the Morea, however, the Divan had assembled, and it had ordered the disarmament of all the Greeks, and the extermination of all those who would not submit. That decree aroused the fanaticism and the ferocity of the Ottomans. The Greek families of Constantinople took flight; but the greater number fell under the blows of the Janissaries; the churches were pillaged, the rayahs everywhere pursued; the patriarch Gregory, accused of plotting with the insurrection, was arrested with his synod, and, on Easter Day (April 22, 1821), hanged at the door of his palace. Three archbishops, eighty bishops, exarchs and archimandrites shared the same fate. The corpse of the patriarch was mutilated by the Jews, dragged through a sewer, and flung into the Bosphorus. The Turks pretended that that massacre was made in reprisal of the atrocities committed by the insurgents upon a Turkish ship which

was carrying the mollah of Mecca with his harem. But the slaughter did not stop there, and, in Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, the peaceable and defenceless Greeks were pillaged or slain, the churches destroyed and the women and children dragged into slavery.

The tidings of the patriarch's martyrdom helped to raise all Greece. Hydra and Psara adhered to the insurrection with an heroic devotion. "For these thirty years," said Lazare Condorioutis, "I have laboured to amass treasures. I offer them to my country, and I shall esteem myself happy if they should be instrumental to the independence of Greece. I think that my example will be followed by all the rich men of Hydra and the isles that are allied with us; but, if they draw back before the sacrifice of money, do not lose courage, my brothers; I am in a position to supply by myself the expenses of the navy." Hydra, in fact, gave five millions towards the cost of the war; Psara and Spezia contributed as much to it; the cross was displayed upon every Greek vessel; Tombazis, named *navarch*, raised all the islands, except Chio; he chased hotly the Turkish ships, and avenged by horrible reprisals the cruelties of the Mussulmans.

Ypsilanti, however, finding himself abandoned by Russia, had lost courage, and had retired near Rimnik; but Athanasius d'Agrapha, with 500 men, made head against 20,000 Turks who passed the Danube at Galatz, and in a last heroic combat on the Pruth, he perished with all his followers. Ypsilanti was attacked in his turn near the convent of Dragochan; he was defeated. The *sacred battalion*, 1,200 strong, fell to a man; the remainder of the insurgents fled; Ypsilanti sought a refuge upon Austrian territory and was shut up in the citadel of Munkacz (June, 1821).

It was to Austria that the disastrous termination of the rising was due: when Ypsilanti saw himself master of Jassy, he had written a letter full of enthusiasm and hope to Alexander, who was then at the Congress of Laybach. M. de Metternich placed under the eyes of the

Czar the correspondence, true or false, of the chief of the Hetæria with the French liberals, with the constitutional Spaniards and the Neapolitan carbonari; he obtained a disavowal, and the Greek insurrection found itself abandoned to its own strength.

That insurrection continued to make progress in the South. The Turks of the Morea, leaving the open country to the insurgents, took refuge in the fortresses, which were all besieged. Kourschid Pacha, who blockaded Ali in Janina, directed an Albanian corps against Tripolitza: it was beaten and put to the rout. Demetrius Ypsilanti, brother of Alexander, arrived in the Morea; he was welcomed with enthusiasm and proclaimed chief of the insurrection. Arcadia and Navarino were taken: the victors avenged the massacre of Constantinople by the massacre of the Mussulmans. From thence, Demetrius marched upon Tripolitza, which had a garrison of 10,000 men; some Frenchmen, who had hastened to the defence of Greece, directed the siege operations. Baïram Pacha, with an army of 12,000 men, endeavoured to penetrate into the Morea in order to deliver Tripolitza: he was defeated, and his army destroyed by the bands of Gouras and Odysseus. The town, despairing of being succoured, asked to treat; but a treason delivered it up to the Greeks, who burnt it and massacred the inhabitants; the primate and the chiefs of the army dishonouring themselves by taking part in the pillage.

Discord, however, paralyzed the insurrection; the insurgents of continental Greece, of the Morea and the isles, were enemies of one another and refused to concert their efforts; each band wished to act apart, and only sought for pillage and vengeance; the isles alone and the maritime towns sincerely desired the re-establishment of their country and demanded the formation of a central power. At length, a meeting of envoys and military chiefs took place at Epidaurus, and, thanks to the efforts of the Hetærists, succeeded in constituting a Government, which was composed of a legislative body, presided over by Demetrius Ypsilanti, of an executive council, presided

over by Mavrocordato, with Negris and Coletti for Ministers (13th Jan. 1822). That division of powers did not put an end to the pretensions of parties.

7. *Death of Ali Pacha.—Massacre of Scio.—Dissensions among the Greeks.*

At this time, Ali Pacha, who kept in check in Janina the best troops of the Porte, perished by treason; summoned to a conference, he was poniarded by his enemies, who sent his head to Constantinople (5th Feb. 1822). Then the Divan, sustained, besides, by Austria and England, who regarded the Hellenes only as rebels, was enabled to direct all its forces against them. The insurgents of continental Greece sent Botzaris, the Souliote hero, to demand aid from those of the Morea: the Peloponnesians responded to that appeal, but they underwent in their turn several defeats; Mavrocordato was beaten at Peta; Drem Ali, at the head of 35,000 men, penetrated into the Megaride, and occupied the Acro-Corinth, abandoned by its garrison. The Greek Government sought refuge in a Hydriot schooner; the inhabitants of the Argolide fled to the mountains. Ypsilanti revived the courage of his followers and withdrew into Argos. Drem Ali went to besiege him there, but was repulsed, and regained the Acro-Corinth, there to await Kourschid Pacha; each step of his retreat was marked by a combat, and he died in consequence of his wounds. Of his army, a portion embarked; another portion attempted to gain Patras, by going along the coast, but 1,800 men only reached there. Kourschid Pacha, who went to the succour of Drem Ali, was completely defeated by Odysseus in the defile of Davi, and in despair from his defeat committed suicide.

Scio had refused to take part with Greece: it was terribly punished for its neutrality, which the Turks refused to recognize: 10,000 Asiatics landed on its shores, pillaged, burnt its towns and villages, massacred its male

population and carried away the women into slavery. Of one hundred thousand inhabitants, there remained nine hundred! A cry of horror arose throughout Europe at the news of these barbarities. The Greeks exacted for them a startling vengeance: Canaris of Psara, and Pepinos of Hydra steered two fire ships into the midst of the Turkish fleet, moored between Scio and the coast of Tchesmé; the admiral's ship was burnt, 3,000 Turks perished, and amongst the dead was found the Capudan-Pacha. The fleet sought refuge in the Dardanelles, and after having repaired its losses, it set sail to revictual Nauplia, which had stood a twelve months' siege; but it was forced, by the navarch Miaulis, to take shelter behind Tenedos. There, Canaris and Kyriokos came again to burn it (Nov. 1822); a tempest increased the disaster, and the Turks lost one half of their ships. Nauplia surrendered and became the principal *place d'armes* of the Hellenes.

The success of the insurrection continued. Missolonghi, long besieged, and which had undergone several assaults, was delivered. An army of 20,000 Turks who had cleared the Thermopylæ, was repulsed in Thessaly; another was defeated at Karpenitza with a loss of 2,000 men; but the Ottoman fleet ravaged Psara and massacred its population; 500 heads and 2,000 ears were sent to Constantinople. The Greek fleet avenged those victims by massacring the garrison left in the island (1824). The Greeks too often sullied their victories by cruelties; but those cruelties were only feeble reprisals for the barbarities committed by the Turks at Smyrna, Cyprus, in Syria, everywhere where there were Christians. All the atrocities which dishonour Ottoman history were renewed in this the nineteenth century, in the face of civilized Europe, immoveable, but shuddering.

The insurgents, however, did not cease to ask for aid from their Christian brothers, in the name of the cross which they bore upon their banners, in the name of the light which their ancestors had shed upon the human race. A Congress having met at Verona, they sent deputies thither. The Sovereigns of Europe, who had

assembled in order to stifle the insurrections of Italy and Spain, refused to listen to them, and they even invited Mahmoud to send a representative to the Congress. "They treat us as revolutionists," wrote one of the deputies, "although we fight only to free ourselves from the horrible yoke of our tyrants, without busying ourselves with what is passing among other nations. If we were revolutionists, should we take the step of addressing ourselves to crowned heads to ask for a chief from among them?"

But if the Sovereigns were hostile to the cause of the Greeks, their subjects declared themselves vividly in their favour: in France, in Germany, in England, societies of Philhellenes were formed, who opened subscriptions, and sent to the Greeks money, arms, munitions; defenders hastened to their assistance, and amongst them were reckoned Lord Byron, Colonel Fabvier, Count Rosa, &c. But the Greeks lost the fruit of their victories by their intestine struggles. The Senate had named Condouriotis chief of the executive power; the latter was compelled to wage three combats with the Peloponnesian party to make his authority recognized, and he only installed the Senate at Nauplia by force.

8. *Intervention of the troops of the Pacha of Egypt.—Capture of Missolonghi.*

The Turks, however, were tired and terrified with this struggle in which their armies had been swallowed up during three years without any result. The body of the Ulema made the voice of humanity heard; the Mufti himself attributed the misfortunes of the Ottomans "to the divine justice, which punished the excesses committed by the Mussulmans upon the unarmed rayahs, women and children." Mahmoud strove in vain to make levies in the Asian provinces: they no longer responded to his appeal; he decided to demand assistance from the Pacha of Egypt, who, more fortunate than he, had not for an army bands

of ferocious and undisciplined pillagers, but troops formed by the tactics and arms of Europe. A firman (16th Jan. 1824) was addressed to him on that subject, at the same time that a hatti-sherif gave him the pachalics of the Morea and Candia. Mehemet responded with eagerness to the order of his master, and his son Ibrahim set out with an army of 15,000 men, embarked in Austrian and Maltese transport vessels, and a fleet of sixty-three men of war. He directed this force at first upon Candia, which the Greeks did not attempt to succour; the island was easily conquered. The Egyptian fleet having made its junction with the Turkish fleet, a disposition to invade the Morea was determined upon, but it was attacked in the roadstead of Halycarnassus by the Greek fleet, defeated, harassed, pursued in every place where it sought refuge, and finally forced to return to Alexandria, whither Miaulis followed it until in sight of the harbour.

The armament of the Pacha of Egypt had suspended the intestine struggles of the Greeks; but scarcely were the victories of the fleet known than the dissensions recommenced. A battle fought between the two parties, under the walls of Corinth, left the power to Condouriotis, whom Gouras, Coletti and all the chiefs of continental Greece seconded; the defeated were put to flight, exiled and despoiled of their property.

Ibrahim profited by these deplorable troubles; he landed at Modon with 12,000 regular troops, defeated the Greeks who hastened to engage him, took Navarino (18th May, 1825), Tripolitza and all the places of the interior; he failed only before Nauplia, which Ypsilanti skilfully succeeded in saving. The Greeks were put to the rout by the manœuvres of their adversary and the solidity of his troops; they despaired of their cause and thought of giving themselves up to England. Three important places alone remained to them: the citadel of Athens, Nauplia and Missolonghi.

Whilst Ibrahim was conquering the Morea, Reschid Pacha, assisted by Austrian engineers, went to lay siege to Missolonghi; he multiplied the assaults and exhausted

his forces before that place, which the Greeks incessantly revictualled by sea; then he summoned Ibrahim to his aid. The latter embarked at Patras with 10,000 men and an immense material; he attempted at first to carry the city by a *coup de main;* repulsed with loss, he isolated it by seizing upon all the points which commanded the road-stead and thus cut it off from all succour from without. The besieged, reduced to the last extremities, after an heroic defence which was the admiration of all Europe, decided to abandon the town; but, in their retreat, they were surrounded by Ibrahim and resisted during four hours in an unequal struggle. One thousand eight hundred only succeeded in escaping; all the rest perished; in the town, amongst the ruins, 800 to 900 women and children were found: that was all that remained of the 15,000 inhabitants of Missolonghi. Ibrahim returned to the Morea. Reschid went to lay siege to the citadel of Athens.

9. *Discussions of the Porte with Russia.*

The cause of the Greeks appeared lost: the second Congress of Epidaurus nominated a commission charged to negotiate with the Porte by the intermediacy of the English ambassador; he required that the Morea should be constituted a tributary State. Ypsilanti and the deputies of continental Greece were opposed to that resolution: a separation took place, and the Peloponnesians assembled at Hermione. The English admiral Cochrane, to whom the Congress of Epidaurus had given the supreme command of the land and sea forces, succeeded in reconciling the two parties, and a general assembly was convoked at Trœzene. That assembly nominated as president of the republic the Count Capo d'Istria, and, whilst awaiting his arrival, confided the power to a commission presided over by Mavromichali.

Admiral Cochrane, who desired to justify his election, attempted to relieve the citadel of Athens and suffered a

complete defeat, as the sequel of which the besieged capitulated (June, 1827). The Sultan believed his triumph complete, when the ambassadors of England, France and Russia signified the treaty concluded between those three Powers the 6th July, 1827. It will be seen how the Cabinet of St. Petersburg had brought over those of London and Paris to that unforeseen arrangement, which has had so much influence over the destinies of Turkey.

The Hetæria, as has been seen, was developed in some sort under the shadow of Russian power: it was the name of Alexander that the brothers Ypsilanti invoked, and Capo d'Istria, Minister of that prince, knew evidently the political object of the Society. All the past of Russia spoke plainly enough as to what were its tendencies, and it could not be doubted that, without the species of sacred character with which Alexander believed himself invested since the formation of the Holy Alliance, he might not have profited by so fair an opportunity offered to him of seizing upon Constantinople, that veritable Rome of the Greek religion.* M. de Metternich well understood it, and, when at Laybach he painted to him who was called *the White Angel of Europe and of the World* the social edifice threatened by that raising of bucklers, Alexander declared that his army should not cross the Pruth, and that he would maintain purely and simply the treaties existent between Russia and Turkey. But the Divan, not believing in the disinterestedness of its neighbour, subjected to a visit every ship which passed through the Dardanelles. The Russian ambassador, Strogonoff, pro-

* Alexander said, at the Congress of Verona, to Chateaubriand: "We can no longer have here English, French, Russian, Prussian, Austrian policy: there is only now a general policy which ought, for the safety of all, to be admitted in common by peoples and kings. It is for me to show myself the first convinced of the principles on which I have founded the Holy Alliance. An occasion has presented itself in the rising of Greece. Nothing doubtless appears to be more to my interests, to those of my people, in the opinion of my country than a religious war against Turkey; but I have thought that I discerned in the troubles of the Peloponnesus the revolutionary symbol; from that moment I abstained. . . . Providence has not placed 800,000 soldiers under my orders merely to satisfy my ambition, but to protect religion, morality, and justice, and to cause those principles of order upon which human society rests to reign."

tested in the name of his sovereign against that measure; the reis-effendi, on his part, recriminated against the Czar, who violated treaties in giving asylum to the rebel subjects of the Sultan.

Meanwhile Donesi, banker of the embassy, was arrested and thrown into the Seven Towers, accused of having furnished funds to the insurgents: Strogonoff protested against that violation of the right of nations, demanded his passports, and returned to Russia. "If the Turkish Government," he wrote, "testified, against all expectation, that it is in consequence of a plan freely resolved that it takes such measures, it would only remain to the Emperor to declare from the present time to the Sublime Porte that it places itself in a state of open hostility to the Christian world: that it legitimates the defence of the Greeks, who, henceforward, would fight solely to escape from an inevitable ruin; and, looking to the character of that struggle, Russia would find herself under the strict obligation to offer them asylum, because they would be persecuted; protection, because they would have a right to it; assistance in all Christianity, because she could not consent to deliver up her brothers in religion to the mercies of a blind fanaticism." War seemed imminent, when Alexander remitted to Europe the solution of the question, by a note made public, in which he said: "If the European Cabinets in their wisdom find efficacious means to obtain from the Ottoman Porte of placing the Christians of Turkey under protection from a repetition of the violent scenes of which they have been victims, his Imperial Majesty would beg them to consider incessantly the proper means of attaining the desired end, and thus of dispensing to obtain by force of arms the accomplishment of the conditions which the power of his crown, the maintenance of treaties, the protection of the Christian religion and humanity have made it his duty to exact from the Porte."

Mahmoud, however, refused to treat with Russia before the revolt of Greece was repressed; England, uneasy and desirous of preventing a rupture, obtained from her

the promise of an amnesty; but the recriminations between Russia and Turkey continued, without diplomacy being able to bring about an accord. At length, in 1824, Alexander sent to Constantinople a *chargé d'affairs*, who made the following propositions: Greece should be divided into three principalities subjected to the same conditions as Wallachia and Moldavia: Thessaly, Bœotia, and Attica should form the first; the ancient Venetian littoral, Epirus and Acarnania, the second; the Morea and Candia, the third; the allied powers should be declared protectresses. Turkey expressed her discontent, especially when she saw the other powers accept the discussion of such a plan; as for the Greeks, they declared, by the organ of one of their ministers, that they would prefer a glorious death to the shameful fate that was being prepared for them.

10. *Convention of Ackerman.—Treaty of 6th July*, 1827.

The negotiations continued without result until the death of Alexander (1st December, 1825). Nicholas I., who succeeded him, as early as the 17th March, 1826, made this declaration: "Russia asks nothing better than to renounce the exclusive direction of the affairs of Greece and the prospect of the protectorate which would result to her from it; but it cannot be thus with her direct differences with the Porte. The Emperor Nicholas will never undertake to treat as an European question an affair between him and that power, and affecting the faith of treaties and the honour of his crown."

In fact, on the 7th of the following October, Russia, supported by England, who was desirous at any price to avert a collision, imposed upon Turkey the Convention of Ackerman, by which the Treaty of Bucharest was confirmed and the navigation of the Black Sea opened to Russia. A separate article stipulated, in the interest of Wallachia and Moldavia, that their hospodars should be nominated by the Boyards, confirmed by the Porte and

invested with the power for seven years, without it being possible to dismiss them save with the consent of Russia. Another separate article gave independence to Servia by stipulating for her freedom of worship, choice of her chiefs, liberty of administration and commerce, interdiction to every Mussulman to establish himself in the province, &c.; the strongholds alone were left to the Turks.

The Greek question, however, remained to be determined. England sent to St. Petersburg the great soldier and statesman, the Duke of Wellington, who succeeded in signing (4th April, 1826) a protocol in which it was stipulated that the two Cabinets should unite their efforts with the object of reconciling the Greeks with the Porte, and of putting an end to the struggle of which the Archipelago was the theatre; Greece would remain a dependence of the Ottoman Empire, and should pay an annual tribute. That protocol was communicated to the Cabinets of Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, which showed themselves at first offended at the secrecy that had been kept towards them; but they ended by signing it. On the 5th February, 1827, Mr. Stratford Canning offered to the Porte the mediation of the signatory Powers of the Protocol; but the reis-effendi replied that "His Highness would never admit of intervention between it and its rayahs, and that in future it would no longer reply to propositions of that kind" (10th June). The capture of the citadel of Athens was the result of that answer. England was highly irritated at it, and engaged France and Russia to protest against the obstinacy of the Sultan; Austria and Prussia refused to take part in that protest. Finally, on the 6th July, 1827, England, France, and Russia signed a treaty in which they stipulated the offer of their mediation for an immediate armistice between the contending parties, and for the conclusion of an arrangement based upon the *civil separation* between the two populations. The Porte should remain suzerain, and Greece should pay an annual ground-rent; an ulterior convention should fix the delimitation of the two countries. A secret article gave a month

to the Porte and to Greece to accept those conditions, and, after that term, the powers would consult.

Up to that juncture, however skilful, fortunate, and far-extending might have been the intrigues of Russia, that power nevertheless only acted in its individual character, and had constantly to forewarn itself against the chances which from one moment to another might cause all its plans to fail, viz.: the union of France and England against her, or, which was still more to be feared, the drawing nearer of England and Turkey. By the treaty of the 6th July, Russia saw herself delivered from those dangers; Turkey was deprived of all possible succour on the part of the European Powers; Europe was placed in opposition, so to speak, with Turkey, and Christianity with Islamism; finally, moral influence, and, in the sequel, the arms of England and France were placed at the disposition of Russia.

The Porte suffered the fixed delay to elapse; the ambassadors of the three powers addressed to it a collective note in which they renewed their propositions and their menaces; but it replied that it directed reference to its note of the 10th June and had nothing to add to it. The Christian merchants were warned to prepare themselves for departure, and the Admiral of the allied fleets had the order to prevent all movement of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets and armies.

11. *Battle of Navarino.—Declaration of War against Russia.*

Ibrahim received communication of the treaty of the 6th July and notification to cease hostilities; he consented to wait for fresh orders from his father and from the Sultan, which was equivalent in fact to a suspension of arms for forty days. But two divisions of the Turco-Egyptian fleet having sailed from Navarino, the news that Ibrahim had began to march with his land troops brought the allied fleets, under the command of Sir Edward Codrington, before the harbour of Navarino, into which they soon pene-

trated without resistance; on both sides, it was decided not to fight; but a shot sent from a Turkish fire-ship killed an English envoy; this was the signal for an unexpected engagement, it lasted for five hours, after which sixty-two vessels of the Turco-Egyptian fleet had been destroyed (20th October, 1827).

The tidings of this disaster only reached Constantinople on the 2nd November; the reis-effendi immediately demanded of the three ambassadors of the allied Powers whether the Porte ought to consider itself as being in a state of war with them. The ambassadors threw upon Ibrahim the blame of the conflict. Then the reis-effendi communicated to them the following propositions: 1. The allies should desist from all intervention in the affairs of Greece; 2. The Porte shall receive an indemnity for the ships of war destroyed at Navarino, with excuses for the outrage which has been committed, &c. In consequence of this communication, the relations with the three Powers were broken off, and the ambassadors embarked (8th December).

Some days afterwards (18th December) appeared a hatti-sherif which attributed the Greek insurrection "to the hatred of Russia, for half a century the constant enemy of the Porte;" it declared "that to accede to the propositions of the Powers, would be to encourage rebellion of the rayahs and deliver up religion and the empire to the infidels, who have no other object than to annihilate Islamism and tread under foot the Mussulman nation; the concessions made so far by the Porte have only taken place in order to gain time; henceforward, to fight is the duty of all true believers and the war is a national and religious war."

Moreover, a confidential communication was addressed by the Divan to all the pachas and ayans of the principal towns: "The other wars," said the document, "had only for object the rending away of a few provinces; but this latter is destined to work the complete destruction of the Ottoman Empire, to reduce the Osmanli to the condition of rayahs, and to change all the mosques into churches. Let all faithful Mussulmans, rich or poor, not lose sight,

in the new struggle, that it is a sacred duty for them to fight. Let us sacrifice willingly in that holy war our persons and properties. The disciples of the Prophet have no other means of obtaining their salvation in this world and in the other."

Russia responded by this manifesto (26th April, 1828): "Sixteen years have elapsed since the peace of Bucharest, and sixteen years have seen the Porte infringe the stipulations which she had just concluded .... An amnesty had been promised the Servians: it was replaced by an invasion and dreadful ravages. Immunities were guaranteed to Moldavia and Wallachia: a system of spoliation achieved the ruin of those unfortunate provinces. The incursions of tribes who dwell upon the left bank of the Kouban ought to have been repressed by the care of the Porte, but they were openly encouraged ... The vessels upon which the Russian flag floated were detained in the Bosphorus, and all the stipulations of the commercial treaty of 1783 openly violated ... A general rising of the Morea, and the irruption into Moldavia of a chief of the party, served to awaken in the Turkish government and nation all the transports of a blind hatred against the Christians, its tributaries, without distinction between the innocent and the guilty ... Notwithstanding the engagements of the convention of Ackerman, the Porte has driven from its states all the Russian subjects; it has closed the Bosphorus to all Russian ships in the ports of the Black Sea ... Placed from that time in a position in which its honour and interests in sufferance no longer permits it to remain, Russia declares war against the Ottoman Porte ..."

That declaration was precipitated by the hope that Russia had of surprising Turkey whilst without an army; in fact, at that moment, the Janissaries no longer existed. It is necessary to revert to that event, which was not without influence upon the results of the war, and by which Mahmoud sought to regenerate the Ottoman empire.

12. *Destruction of the Janissaries.*

It has been said that this prince, the pupil of Selim III., had promised himself to follow up the work of his cousin, and, above all, to rid the empire of the insolence of the Janissaries—"Those fiery coursers, bounding at liberty in the pastures of disorder," says a Turkish historian, "considering themselves as kings of the country, kept up the fire beneath the cauldron of insubordination and filed asunder the collar of obedience."* The ministers of Mahmoud were animated with the same conviction, and they had found in the Korân the justification for reforms. "War is the finest of all games . . . combat the enemy with his own weapons." Those words of the Prophet applied, they said, to the instruction of troops and to the necessity of borrowing from the infidels their means of fighting. Moreover, opinion was entirely hostile to a corps whose behaviour before the enemy rendered it the object of the jeers of the other troops. "These are old women who chatter of their bygone beauty and are good for nothing," said a pacha. Plunderers and thieves, given up to debauchery, to drunkenness, they no longer respected the ulemas, who, alone, had excused up to the present time their numerous revolts by proclaiming them the cherished sons of the Prophet.

In 1826, at the moment when the victories of Ibrahim, placed in contrast with preceding defeats, demonstrated the superiority of European discipline and tactics, Mahmoud determined upon action; he held to that effect, with his ministers and some few pachas, conferences at which it was decided that there should be drawn from the *odjak* even of the Janissaries the men who, under the name of *akindjis* or active soldiers, should be trained after the European manner. The principal chiefs were won over, who all engaged to support the formation of the new corps. The ulemas consulted gave favourable counsel, and a great assembly, composed of all the high function-

* Esaad-Effendi, "Hist. of the Destruction of the Janissaries."

aries of the empire, was held at the abode of the Mufti; there, the Grand Vizier, Mohammed Selim, explained the plan of reform. "The shame of our defeats," said he, "the loss of considerable sums and of an immense material, have plunged the heart of the nation into grief and regret. What a spectacle the Greeks, those insurgent rayahs, those feeble reeds that the impetuous torrent of Mahometan courage ought to have overthrown in an instant, gives us to-day by resisting with success and in arresting our efforts, without our being able, up to this time, to extinguish the fire of their rebellion! . . . The rolls of the Janissaries are over-burthened with the names of men in the pay of the State; but for warlike men they may be searched, but none of such found thereon. The officers set out upon a campaign at the head of a motley mob of people of every description, who are strangers to the profession of arms as to all idea of subordination or military instruction. Spies of the enemy are lurking amongst them." . . . And the Grand Vizier proposed the following reforms: 1. That the corps of Janissaries should be suppressed. 2. That each of the fifty and one odas of Constantinople should furnish one hundred and fifty men fit for service, and who should be instructed and disciplined after the European manner. 3. That promotion should be regular. 4. That retiring pensions, taken from the customs, should be paid to the officers and soldiers who should have merited them, &c. All this was adopted. The Mufti declared by a fetwa that whosoever should hold malevolent discourse against these reforms, and should seek to raise troubles, deserved a severe chastisement; then all the members of the assembly signed the deliberation. It was carried to the palace of the Aga of the Janissaries, and read to the officers and soldiers delegated from the corps, who signed it likewise as engaging to execute it.

The enrolments began immediately, and, on the 12th June, 1826, four instructors, two of whom had belonged to the corps of nizam-gedittes, commenced to teach the handling of arms and marching to the officers. As in

Selim's time, the new ordinance excited murmurs, complaints, and at length a mutiny. On the 15th June, during the night, the subaltern officers and the men assembled on the square of the Atmeidan; they brought their fleshpots, and leaders were chosen; then they went in search of the Aga of the Janissaries, whom they did not find, but whose house they sacked. At daybreak, the report was spread that the principal functionaries had been taken or killed, and immediately all the pillagers and vagabonds flocked to join the rebels in order to share the fruit of the victory. The palace of the Grand Vizier and the house of the agent of the Pacha of Egypt were pillaged. The rebels shouted: "Death to the givers of fetwas!" and wishing to win over the populace, they declared that the smallest theft would be punished with death.

The Grand Vizier having heard of this movement, repaired to the Seraglio, and sent to apprise Mahmoud, who was at Beschiktasch, one of his summer residences. At his order, Hussein, commandant of the castles of the Bosphorus, and the other chiefs of troops, promptly brought up their troops. The Mufti, who had hastened to the rescue, summoned the doctors, the masters and the students of the colleges, to the defence of the Sultan. Speedily the Grand Vizier had collected all his forces; Mahmoud came up with the Standard of the Prophet and convoked all the faithful to rally under that banner. In less than an hour, the population, led by the imans, surrounded the Sultan, who caused arms and munitions to be served out to them immediately. They marched with repeated shouts of "*Allah! Allah!*" towards the Mosque of Sultan Achmet, where the Standard of the Prophet was unfurled; then head-quarters were established at the Mosque of Sultan Mahmoud.

The Janissaries, however, had placed, in the adjacent streets, some outposts, which were promptly driven in upon the square of the Atmeidan; Hussein and the Grand Vizier, reinforced by a body of troops brought by the agent of the Pacha of Egypt, surrounded them upon that place, as well as in their principal barrack. A

summons to surrender having proved fruitless, a fire was opened; the chief gate of the square, which the Janissaries had barricaded, was blown in by the first cannon-shot, the place immediately invaded, the barracks taken and burnt. On all sides, the rebels dispersed and took flight; they were pursued in every direction, and everywhere slain; a few discharges of grapeshot had sufficed to destroy a corps which had made the glory and power of the Ottoman Empire.

The Sultan returned to the Seraglio amidst the acclamations of the crowd. Then the executions commenced, in virtue of the summary sentences passed by the Grand Vizier and Hussein Pacha: the number of victims was estimated at six hundred. Mahmoud thereupon issued the following hatti-sherif: "All Mussulmans know that it is to the powerful influence of the religious spirit that the Ottoman Monarchy has owed its foundation and developments, which have successively embraced the East and the West. The Janissaries, regularly organized, have rendered great services to the State, and have often brought victory to our arms. But a bad spirit had introduced itself among them; their obedience had changed to insubordination; for a century past, they have often refused to obey the orders of their generals, and, taking flight, they have given up by their cowardice and insubordination, our strongholds and provinces to the enemies of religion. It was indispensable to put an end to those disorders. . . . Consequently, the Mufti, the Grand Vizier, the ulemas and all the great men of the Empire, collected together in general assembly, under the Standard of the Prophet, in the Mosque of Sultan Achmet, have unanimously decided that the odjak of the Janissaries should be suppressed, that to replace them, new troops should be organized, which, trained in discipline and military instruction, should be able to make head against the enemy upon the field of battle. The new troops have been created under the name of the victorious soldiers of Mahomet. The illustrious Vizier Hussein Pacha has been chosen to be their commander-in-

chief, in taking the title of Seraskier-Pacha. . . Any individual who shall commit himself by an action or word contrary to the general resolve, shall be instantly struck down by the sword." The pachas and governors of provinces received communication of this hatti-sherif, and were obliged to replace everywhere the Janissaries by the troops devoted to the Government.

The institution of the Janissaries was closely connected with that of the Dervishes, fanatical monks, of barbarous ignorance, of hideous filthiness, enemies of all progress, of all reform, and nevertheless having great influence over the populace. They strove to foment some disturbances in favour of their brethren of the army. Mahmoud struck them down with the same blow: on the 10th July, he caused their three principal chiefs to be seized and executed, abolished the entire order, had their *tekies* destroyed and drove all the members out of Constantinople, with prohibition to wear their ancient costumes.

In the sequel of these capital measures, the Sultan set himself to the work of reform, assisted by a commission which sat under tents pitched in the court of the Seraglio: "The obstacles which the Janissaries opposed to all amelioration no longer exist," said he. "I desire, henceforward, to occupy myself solely with promoting the welfare of my people, and to reconstruct, upon the basis of religion, and after the principles of the law, the edifice which ought to ensure the happiness and repose of my subjects." At the end of the year, Mahmoud had already 20,000 men drilled in the European manner, and he desired to have in the year following, 120,000.

The destruction of the Janissaries and the reform which the military constitution of the Empire was about to undergo, made Russia fear that that Empire was not less easily vulnerable, and it cannot be doubted that they may not have influenced the declaration of war of 1828: the Czar calculated upon finding Turkey deprived of her old army, not having yet had the time to form a new one. These previsions, as will be seen, appeared at first to realize themselves; but, before commencing the narrative

of the war, it is necessary to know what had become of ths Greek insurrection.

13. *Expedition of the French into the Morea.*

A regular government had been created under the presidency of Count Capo d'Istria, assisted by a senate of twenty-seven members (31st Jan. 1828). France, England and Russia sent representatives to that Government, and facilitated its first acts by sending it money. An intelligent distribution of commands restored some degree of calm to the country. The Turks, shut up in such places as Navarino, Modon, Coron and Patras, attempted no enterprise, and began to suffer from famine, the allied fleets intercepting all communication, and the ravaged country no longer offering any resource. At length, a French *corps d'armée* prepared to land in the Morea, in order to force Ibrahim to evacuate it. In that situation, that general signed (3rd Aug. 1828) a convention of evacuation, by which he was bound to embark in his own vessels, give up his prisoners and leave only twelve hundred men in the places occupied by the Turks.

Scarcely was this convention signed, ere the French army, commanded by General Maison, appeared in sight of Navarino, 29th Aug.) and landed at Petalidi. The Egyptian army began to embark (7th Sept.); the place, which it still held surrendered without resistance to the French; there was only Patras that the Turks sought to defend. The three powers then declared (16th Nov. 1828,) that the expedition to the Morea had only for its object to cease the effusion of blood; that they placed, until a definitive accord was arrived at, Greece under their provisional guarantee; that the Porte was invited to an amicable understanding with the three Courts. It was decided, moreover, that Greece should pay to the Porte a tribute of 1,500,000 piastres, that the government should be confided to a Christian prince chosen by the three powers, that indemnities should be paid to the

Mussulman proprietors expelled from Greek territory, &c. As a consequence of that declaration, the ambassadors re-entered Constantinople (16th June, 1829); but the Porte and Greece both refused to recognize the arrangement of the three powers, and the insurgents continued their attacks upon Turkish territory. The victories of Russia, in 1828 and 1829, were about to snatch definitively Greece from the Ottoman Empire.

14. *Campaigns of* 1828 *and* 1829.—*Treaty of Adrianople.* —*Independence of Greece.*

The Turkish army commanded by the Seraskier Hussein Pacha, was not yet reunited, ere the Russians had already crossed the Pruth, occupied Jassy, and captured the hospodar, Jean Stourdza; on the 13th May, Bucharest fell into their power: from that time the two provinces were administered for the profit of Russia. General Roth next advanced upon Silistria, whilst General Voïlof attacked Braïla and Ismaïl, and marched towards the eastern part of the Balkans. The fleet, mistress of the Black Sea, since Turkey no longer had a navy, seconded the movements of the army.

Hussein Pacha forced the Russians to withdraw from Silistria; but on the 27th June, Braïla, after an honourable resistance, capitulated and involved the submission of Matchin, which opened the passage of the Danube. Isaktchi, Toultcha and Kostendje surrendered almost without a struggle; Varna was besieged. The Emperor Nicholas went to place himself at the head of his troops and established his head-quarters at Bazardjik; next he advanced against Shumla, then defended by 45,000 men under the command of the Seraskier, and occupied Eski Stamboul, which opened the route to Constantinople. But his army soon suffered from dearth and sickness; a sortie of the Turks compelled General Rudiger to abandon the position of Eski Stamboul. The siege of Varna however was vigorously pushed by the Russians, whom the

Emperor animated by his presence; in vain the Capudan-pacha succeeded in re-victualling the place; in vain the Grand Vizier, with a corps of 20,000 men, attempted to succour it; the governor, Yousouf Pacha, surrendered it (10th Oct.), or, more correctly speaking, sold it to the Russians. The traitor was condemned to death, but he retired to Russia, where he lived in opulence.

Meanwhile, in Asia, Prince Mentschikoff had taken the fortress of Anapa, then that of Poti, which gave to the Russians the western shores of the Black Sea. Paskewitch, who next took the command, seized upon Kars and Akhaltzik; he defeated an army of 30,000 men near Akhaltzik, and carried that place, defended by a numerous garrison: finally, he did not go into winter quarters until after conquering Ardaham, Toprakkale and the fortress of Diadine.

The success of the Russians in that campaign disquieted Europe, and the Court of Austria solicited the cabinets of London, Paris and Berlin to join with her in saving Turkey, and procuring her a peace. The British Government gave a favourable reception to that proposition; but that of France had other tendencies. "I desire," said Charles X., "to remain united with Russia; if the Emperor Nicholas attacks Austria, I shall keep myself within bounds and act according to circumstances; but, if Austria attacks him, I shall march immediately against her." The Czar, apprised of these intentions, determined to hasten the resumption of hostilities and to march straight upon Constantinople.

In the campaign of 1829 the Russians, commanded by Diebitch, advanced against Silistria; but the Danube overflowed presented an obstacle to their march, and the approaches of the place were vigorously defended. The Grand Vizier Reschid Pacha, in order to relieve it, defeated General Roth and invested Pravadi. On learning this, Diebitch left the charge of the siege of Silistria to General Krassofsky, and went to the succour of General Roth, with whom he formed a junction. On the 11th June, he obtained at Kaletschwa a sanguinary victory over Reschid

Pacha, who re-entered Shumla. The siege of Silistria was then pushed on rapidly, and, twenty days afterwards, the town surrendered unconditionally. Then Diebitch, having his rear secured, left a sufficient corps before Shumla to restrain the Turks, turned that formidable position, passed the Kamtchik, then the defile of Nadir Derbend, in the Eastern Balkan, and reached as far as Bourgas.

The Grand Vizier, however, suspecting nothing of that bold movement, despatched, on the 21st July, a *corps d'armée* to defend Koprukoi, where Diebitch, on the 19th, had crossed the Kamtchik. That corps learnt, on arriving, the march of the Russians; he followed them, passed the Balkans by the same defile, and debouched upon Aïdos; there he was crushed. Then, the so much vaunted barrier of the Balkans having been crossed,* Reschid Pacha abandons Shulma to its own forces, crosses in his turn the Balkan and reached Selivno; there he finds the Russians and experiences a fresh defeat. Diebitch continues his march and arrives without obstacle at Adrianople. The city numbered 100,000 inhabitants and a garrison of 10,000 men; it surrendered without firing a shot. The Russian vanguard immediately occupied Kirk-Kilissia and held by that the second route to Constantinople; it joined hands also with the fleet, which, coasting along the shores of the Black Sea, had taken Sizeboli and Aïnada. Then Diebitch caused Demotica, Ipsala and Enos to be occupied, so that his left leaned upon the Black Sea, his right upon the Archipelago, and he could, in a few hours, occupy the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and enter Constantinople.

During this time, the Russians obtained equally marked success in Asia; at the commencement of the campaign, the Turks had attacked Akhalzik, but they had been defeated and vigorously pursued by the lieutenants of Paskewitch; the latter, by a skilful manœuvre, put to the rout successively the Seraskier of Erzeroum and the Pacha of Trebizond; then he crossed the Saganlouk Mountains, and, after several combats, seized upon

* See for the localities, the geographical description of Turkey.

Erzeroum (8th July). He next marched upon Trebizond.

The Porte, terrified at the march of Diebitch, sent commissaries to him in order to treat for peace, and before all, for an armistice. This latter demand was welcomed; then the negotiations commenced under the mediation of the Prussian envoy.* "It only depends upon our armies," said M. de Nesselrode, "to march upon Constantinople and overthrow the Turkish Empire: no Power would offer opposition to it, no immediate danger could have menaced us if we had struck the final blow against the Ottoman monarchy in Europe; but, in the opinion of the Emperor, that monarchy, reduced to exist only under the protection of Russia and to listen henceforward only to its wishes, suits better our political and commercial interests than any new combination which we could have compelled, whether by extending too much our domains by conquests, or by substituting for the Ottoman Empire States which ere long would have rivalled us in power, civilization, industry and wealth." †

It was upon those considerations that the Czar consented to sign the treaty of Adrianople, on the 14th September, 1829. In her second campaign against Turkey, in the same year, Russia had invaded Turkey with an army of 150,000 men. Only 14,000 of them reached Adrianople, and these were dying of disease at such a rate that they could neither advance nor retreat; while there were 20,000 Turks between Adrianople and Constantinople, so that Constantinople was perfectly safe. Nevertheless, such special telegrams, or rather reports,

* The envoys of England and France contented themselves with writing to General Diebitch, the 9th September- "We believe it to be our duty to announce to you that at the news of your march upon Constantinople, the Porte has declared to us, and we recognize the truth of its declaration, that in such case, it would cease to exist, and that the most terrible anarchy would succeed to its destruction, and would expose the existence of the Christian and Mussulman population, without deference, and without defence, to all the most disastrous chances. If we were to conceal that position from you, we think that we should take upon ourselves a responsibility that we repudiate with all our might. Now, we have only to occupy ourselves with the means which may preserve the Christians of that capital from the misfortunes hovering over their heads."

† Despatch of 12th February, 1830, to the Grand-Duke Constantine.

were put forth, the power and number of the Russian army was so enlarged—being stated to be 60,000 or 70,000 men—that the Turks were partly frightened and partly diplomatically screwed into submission, and Russia obtained the treaty of Adrianople and was released from her most perilous position. In its stipulations the Czar showed himself moderate as to the territorial exigencies: the Pruth remained the boundary of the two Empires in Europe, but the mouths of the Danube were ceded to Russia, and the Turkish shore, in the delta which the river forms, was to remain inhabited for a league of its depth; navigation was free to the Russians from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. In Asia, the Czar only reserved, in the pachalic of Akhaltzik, a poor district wedged into the upper part of the Kour basin and which contains the place of the same name; but that aggrandisement isolated from Turkey the warlike populations of the Caucasus, closed the ports by which they could receive succours, and prepared the submission of the countries comprised between the Black Sea and the Caspian. Wallachia and Moldavia preserved the rights and privileges recognized by the preceding treaties; their Hospodars were elected for life and could not be dismissed save under grave circumstances and by a special and common decision of the Sublime Porte and Russia. No Mussulman subject was to reside in the two principalities, and eighteen months were accorded to the Turks who were dwelling therein in order to effect a sale of their properties. Servia enjoyed all the rights that the treaty of Ackerman had stipulated. Turkey bound herself to pay about 16,000,000 of francs to the Russian merchants who had experienced losses in the actual war, and, besides, a war indemnity the assessment of which was left to the generosity of the Czar. Russian subjects residing or travelling in Turkey would solely depend upon the jurisdiction and the police of the ambassadors and consuls of Russia; no Russian vessel might be boarded by the Turkish authorities, whether at sea, or in the harbours belonging to the Sublime Porte. As to Greece, the most

important article was that by which the Porte acceded to the stipulations of the Treaty of London with regard to the Greeks. But two or three years were still to elapse before the final settlement of the Hellenic kingdom, during which Capodistrias was to govern in the interest of Russia.* A supplementary act raised the indemnity for the costs of the war to 125,000,000 of francs. The sum stipulated for the merchants was to be paid in four instalments; that which the Russian Government claimed was to be paid in ten years at the rate of 12,500,000 francs annually. After the payment of the first instalment, Adrianople would be evacuated; after the second, the Balkans would be crossed; after the third, the Russians would repass the Danube; finally, at the last payment only would they entirely quit Ottoman territory. Wallachia and Moldavia, therefore, would be occupied during ten years.

Thus, as it will be seen, that treaty, moderate in appearance, was calculated to deal the final blow to Turkey, already mortally stricken by the battle of Navarino: in the state of exhaustion in which that empire was, the war contribution of 125,000,000fr. made it an impossibility for the Sultan to create anew a fleet and an army, and Russia might well reckon upon one vassal more.

The last consequence of the treaty of Adrianople was the act of the independence of Greece. In the month of May, 1830, the Sultan announced his adherence to the

* Capodistrias had, however, to contend with conspiracies and insurrections. The little Greek fleet was burnt by Miaulis (30th July, 1831), to prevent his using it in the Russian interest: and shortly after Capodistrias was assassinated (9th October). He was succeeded in the Government by his younger brother Augustine. Meanwhile the Ministers of the five Powers at London were endeavouring to establish the Greek Kingdom. The proffered crown was declined by Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg; but at last, King Louis of Bavaria, whose poetical temperament rendered him an enthusiastic Philhellenist, accepted it for his younger son Otho (7th May, 1832). Otho landed at Nauplia (5th February, 1833), but it was not until 1st June, 1835, that he took the Government into his own hands, when he removed his residence to Athens. In the interval, the Bavarian Government had had to contend with many difficulties and risings, which continued under the new King.

declarations of the Powers which fixed the boundaries and territory of the new Greek State; that he would recognize the Prince chosen by the three Powers; finally, that Turkey would no longer have relations with Greece except those of friendship and neighbourhood.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE TO THE PEACE OF PARIS (1829–1856).

1. *Relations of France with the Levant during the Restoration and after the Revolution of* 1830.

THE Government of the Restoration had made strenuous efforts to restore to France her influence in the Levant. On the one part it had sought to resume its protectorate over the Catholics, to draw closer its relations with the Maronites; it restored the Holy Places, and pensioned the Fathers of the Holy Sepulchre. On the other part, it had made the Divan listen, especially in its gravest quarrels with Russia, to disinterested advice; it had assisted the Sultan in his reforms, given to the Pacha of Egypt officers for his army, professors for his schools, engineers for his arsenals and manufactories. The French nation had embraced with generous ardour the cause of the Greeks, and the glorious but impolitic battle of Navarino, as well as the expedition into the Morea, had seemed reminiscences of the Crusades. But that resurrection of French sway was only apparent, and four States in reality shared the influence that France exercised of old in the Levant. The English had superseded her in her former commerce, and they took a decisive part in the deliberations of the Divan. As for the Russians, "I have found," says M. de Forbin, "their influence established widely and their protection equally sought for, equally desired by the Christians of every creed, at St. Jean d'Acre, at Jerusalem, and at Cairo as at Constantinople." Finally, two Catholic Powers, profiting by the revolutionary troubles of France, had almost substi-

tuted their protectorate for hers: these were Austria and Sardinia; both, thanks to the possession of Venice and Genoa—that is to say, of the two rulers of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages—had made their re-appearance in that sea, and had there created depôts, consulates, and churches.

In this state of things, France could not resume her position in the Levant save by making alliance either with England or with Russia. But it was known that the foreign policy of Louis XVIII. and of Charles X. was altogether favourable to the latter Power; their Government, therefore, seemed to retake, with regard to the Ottoman Empire, the last diplomatic footsteps of the Government of Louis XVI. There was a marked tendency therein on the part of France and Russia to exclude the English from the Mediterranean; it was really the accord between these two States which gave independence to Greece; the general opinion was that the French and Russian fleets would attack some day the English fleet. The French Government, therefore, presented no obstacle to the march of the Russians upon Constantinople; the report even ran that it was in accord with that of the Czar to dismember the Ottoman Empire, and that Nicholas had promised Charles X., in compensation for the occupation of Constantinople, a handling again of Europe, in which France should resume her natural boundaries.

The revolution of 1830 changed that situation: the new Government had a determined adversary in Russia; it sought, therefore, the English alliance, and one of its first acts, one of its most grievous acts, was in the protocol of the Conference of London, which guaranteed a national existence to Greece, the renunciation of the right of the protectorate that France had over the Catholics of Greece and the Archipelago; it stipulated, nevertheless, that the properties of the Catholic churches should be guaranteed, that the bishops should be maintained in the integrity of their rights and privileges, that the belongings of the old French missions should be recognized and respected.

In this transaction, as regarded the liberties of Greece, we are forcibly reminded of Byron's words:

"Trust not for freedom to the Franks—
They have a king who buys and sells:
In native swords and native ranks,
The only hope of courage dwells;
But Turkish force and Latin fraud,
Would break your shield, however broad."

The Government of King Louis Philippe did not stick to that error: the abandonment of the Russian alliance seemed to replace France on her old political standing with relation to the Ottoman Empire; it then caused the Divan to be solicited by its ambassador, General Guilleminot, at the moment in which a rupture with Russia seemed imminent, to hold itself ready to profit by events, consequently to avenge the shame of the treaty of Adrianople. That proposal threw the Turkish Ministers into such perplexity that they took part in it with the ambassadors of England and Austria. All the Courts were stirred by it; but the French Government hastened to disavow and recall her ambassador. Such conduct could only diminish the remaining influence that France still had over the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, and all the diplomacy of King Louis Philippe, with regard to the East, suffered for those first errors.

2. *Power of Mehemet Ali.—His Rupture with the Porte.—Battles of Homs and Konieh.*

Mahmoud, however, showed himself more and more persevering in his attempts at reform, and in his imitations of the modes of Europe: thus he continued to transform his army; he had instituted a civil and military order under the title of *Nicham-Iftikhar;* he caused a journal to be published, the *Moniteur Ottoman.* But repeated incendiarism testified to the discontent of the population of Constantinople: even in the cholera a fresh proof only was seen of divine condemnation of all those

innovations. Revolts broke out on that subject in Bosnia, Albania, and Bagdad; but they were easily suppressed, and only served to confirm the authority of the Sultan, who soon met with no other adversary save in the Pacha of Egypt.

Mehemet Ali succeeded in consolidating his power, not only by his conquests, but also by a despotic and intelligent administration. The battle of Navarino had dealt a heavy blow against his power; but he knew how promptly to repair his losses; and, profiting by the weakness of the Sultan, he complained that, in recompense of his services, the Pachalic of Candia should have been given him instead of that of Syria, which had been promised him. Therefore, as soon as the occasion presented itself for throwing himself upon that prey, he seized it.

He had seized upon all the provinces of Egypt, whether by title of successor and heir of the Mamelukes, or by indemnifying the proprietors and the mosques; he had thus made himself the sole cultivator of the country, and had tripled his revenues by substituting almost everywhere the cultivation of cotton for that of cereals, and by securing to himself the monopoly of every kind of produce. But whilst that monstrous monopoly had furnished him with the funds necessary for the payment of the immense labours that he had undertaken, it had also produced profound misery amongst the unfortunate fellahs attached to the soil. In 1831 some of them fled into Syria. That province was governed by Abdallah Pacha, formerly the friend of Mehemet, but who had incurred his enmity, because he favoured the contraband trade in the commodities of Egypt. Mehemet summoned Abdallah to restore him his fellahs; the latter replied that the subjects of the Sultan might dwell indiscriminately in one or other part of his empire. At this reply, Mehemet ordered his son Ibrahim to march upon Syria at the head of an army of 30,000 men.

As soon as the Sultan heard of Ibrahim's march, he issued a hatti-sherif commanding the Pacha of Egypt to renounce his enterprise and submit his grievances to him,

promising him, moreover, prompt and severe justice. Mehemet went on notwithstanding, and Mahmoud gave orders for his army and fleet to proceed against the rebel. Gaza, Jaffa, and Kaïffa had fallen rapidly into the hands of Ibrahim, who besieged St. Jean d'Acre. Abdallah, shut up in that place, defended himself there courageously; but he awaited in vain the expected succour promised by Constantinople: reduced to the last extremity, he capitulated (May, 1832), and was sent to Egypt, where the conqueror treated him with generosity.

Immediately after that conquest, Ibrahim marched upon Damascus, defeated a considerable corps which awaited him under the walls of that city, and entered therein without obstacle. At Homs, on the 18th of July, the Pacha of Aleppo, with 20,000 men, of whom 7,000 were of the new organization, vainly attempted to stop him: he lost his tents, his provisions, twenty cannons and 5,000 men. The Pacha's correspondence with the Divan, having fallen into the hands of the victor, made known to him the projects conceived against his father, and incited him to move onwards. Mahmoud, on his side, despatched a fresh army of 36,000 men under the command of Hussein Pacha, the exterminator of the Janissaries; Ibrahim attacked him at Beïlan, between Antioch and Alexandretta, and, thanks to his artillery, he obtained so decisive a victory, that Hussein could scarcely rally 10,000 men.

Conferences took place: Mehemet demanded the government of the four pachalics of Syria, but Mahmoud would not listen to it, and recalled from Albania, which he had just pacified, Reschid Mehemet Pacha, to whom he confided the command of his army in Asia. Ibrahim had crossed the Taurus and was encamped at Karamania: the Sultan's army, 60,000 strong, attacked him near Konieh and was put to entire rout (21st Dec. 1832). Reschid fell into the hands of his adversary, who, according to Oriental custom, saluted him as his chief and handed over to him the apparent command of his army.

In the sequel of this battle, whole corps of the Turkish army joined the Egyptians, and everything appeared from

that moment to allow of Mehemet Ali marching upon Constantinople and overthrowing Mahmoud there. It was the belief of the Europeans surrounding him, who judged Eastern affairs after the ideas of the West; but it was not that of Mehemet Ali, who had never dreamed, as it was thought in France, of dethroning the Padischa and founding a new dynasty. The race of Othman was sacred for all Mussulmans, and in Turkey a dynastic revolution has never been attempted, projected, or thought of: it is not possible. What Mehemet wished for, was a greater pachalic, the liberty of governing after his own fashion, independence by means of tribute; it may be added that the consciousness of his superiority made him perhaps conceive the desire of resuscitating the power of those emirs who governed the Empire of the Abassides.

3. *Intervention of France and Russia.—Treaty between the Sultan and the Pacha of Egypt.—Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.*

European diplomacy was taken unawares by the march of the victorious Ibrahim, and persuaded that it was a new dynasty which was attempting to found an Arab Empire upon the fragments of the Turkish Empire, it threw itself into the midst of the two enemies, not knowing that it only meant the revolt of a pacha. M. de Varennes, who represented France, wrote to Ibrahim, urging him to stop, and engaged the Porte to make concessions. Russia, ever vigilant, hurried off General Mouravieff to Constantinople to offer her succour to the Sultan.

Meanwhile, it became known that Ibrahim had advanced as far as Broussa; he desired to go, he said, as far as Scutari, where he would invite the Ulemas to judge the quarrel between his father and Mahmoud. The latter became terrified; in the absence of any English or French forces, he accepted the propositions of the Russian envoy; then the representations of M. de Varennes made him revoke that decision, and he despatched Halil Pacha into Egypt, who there met with a favourable reception. But the requirements of the pacha had increased, and he de-

sired that the district of Adana should be ceded to him with Syria. Then Admiral Roussin, sent by France as ambassador, arrived (17th Feb.), and, three days afterwards, the Russian fleet, which cast anchor at the entrance of the Bosphorus. On its appearance, Roussin threatened to re-embark, but ordered its retirement to Sizeboli; then, in agreement with the English ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, and the reis-effendi, he drew up the following conditions:—1. Ibrahim shall evacuate the provinces of the Ottoman Empire over which he has no pretensions.. 2. The Russian fleet shall quit the Bosphorus. 3. Mehemet Ali shall obtain the districts of St. Jean d'Acre, of Jerusalem, and of Tripoli. 4. He shall take a fresh oath to the Sultan.

An aide-de-camp of the Admiral carried those propositions to Mehemet, who rejected them, notwithstanding the threat of an attack of the combined fleets of France and England. By a strange inconsistency, France, who had with Mahmoud an ambassador devoted to the Turkish cause, was represented in Egypt by a consul-general who encouraged the projects of the pacha; thus, on the 8th March, the latter replies to the propositions sent from Constantinople: "By what right are such sacrifices imposed upon me? I have all the nation with me; it only depends upon myself to raise the whole of Roumelia and Anatolia; reunited with all the Ottoman people, I can work great changes. Possessor of so many promises, victorious upon all points, I have contented myself with Syria, and full of confidence in that promise, I have arrested the march of my armies, in order to spare Turkey a greater effusion of human blood. In recompense for my moderation, I am actually asked to abandon the country that I occupy; is it not pronouncing against me, by that decision, a sentence of political death?" Intoxicated with his easy successes, profiting by the embarrassment into which he was throwing European diplomacy, believing even that the populations of the Empire saw in him a restorer of the Ottoman power, Mehemet had then, it is said, conceived the project of causing Mahmoud to be deposed

by the Ulemas, to give him as successor his son Abdul Medjid, and to govern the Empire as Grand Vizier. In this sense, he made overtures to Russia and France, who rejected them.*

Meanwhile he had given Ibrahim the order to march, and only to stop before the complete acceptation of the conditions that he had precedently indicated. The latter immediately directed his march towards Scutari, and Mahmoud summoned to his aid the Russians, who landed in that city 10,000 men and caused the fortifications of the Bosphorus to be completed by their engineers, and 24,000 troops to advance to the Pruth. The ambassadors of England and France demonstrated to the Sultan the perils of that intervention; they determined him to accede to a portion of the demands of Mehemet Ali, and to accord him the Pachalics of Aleppo and Damascus. M. de Varennes was the bearer of that news to Ibrahim, who made known the orders that he had received from his father, and only consented to remain immovable in his actual position. On the 5th May the Sultan consented to the cession of Adana, and granted an amnesty to all those who had compromised themselves during Ibrahim's expedition.

That unlucky treaty, inspired by the species of vertigo which the Russians encamped at Constantinople caused the West, could have only the most grievous results: it aggrandized immeasurably a pacha whose power and talents were exaggerated; it weakened the authority that France

* The following conversation demonstrates the project of Mehemet, and at the same time that he desired, above all, the aggrandizement of his pachalics:—"What does the Sultan make of his Bagdad Pachalic?" he asked of a French traveller in 1836; "he does not draw a para from it, and he is often forced to send troops to support his pachas, which does not prevent the latter being, from time to time, either besieged or deposed, while some are strangled. If he gave me that pachalic, I would pay him a heavy tribute, and I should still be the gainer; for, by ensuring the tranquillity of the desert, the commerce of India would resume its course on that side. There lies one of the routes to India, as well as that of Egypt. That line would assuredly be the best for all the world, for Europe, for the Porte, and for me; but England does not like that I should act as its prefect of police upon the Euphrates; she will scarcely concede to me that office on the Nile, no more than Russia would have me for Vizier at Constantinople in 1832, and she had some reason; but that which has always astonished me, is that you Frenchmen, you neither would have me at Constantinople; you have thereby lost much."

had an interest in strengthening; finally, it made the Sultan who ceded the provinces and the pacha who wrested them from him irreconcilable enemies. Russia alone could congratulate herself on such a result; however, it did not suffice her, and it was soon learned that she had obtained from Mahmoud, on the 8th June, 1833, a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive signed at Unkiar-Skelessi, in the very camp of the Russians, a treaty which closed the Dardanelles and gave to the Czar the right of intervening against the interior and exterior enemies of the Porte.

England and France protested in vain against the treaty that placed Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire at the mercy of Nicholas. The Russian army re-embarked and that of Ibrahim recrossed the Taurus.

4. *Reforms of Mahmoud.—Fresh rupture with the Pacha of Egypt.—Battle of Nezib.—Death of Mahmoud.*

The Sultan, however, sought to profit by his friendly relations with the Czar to extricate himself from the grasp of the Treaty of Adrianople. A convention, signed at St. Petersburg the 29th January, 1834, stipulated the evacuation by the Russians of Wallachia and Moldavia; in compensation for a third of the indemnity due by Turkey, Russia obtained in Asia the district and town of Akhaltzik; finally, the Russians occupied Silistria only, as a guarantee for the rest of the indemnity.

Meanwhile Mahmoud continued his reforms: he sent the officers of his army to obtain instruction in the armies of Europe; he created a kind of national militia, which should serve chiefly as a police; he constructed roads; he established quarantines; he protected under all circumstances the Christian rayahs and uttered in their behalf these noble words: "Our intentions are that the Mussulmans may be considered as such in the mosques only; that, from the same point of view, the Christians may be Christians only in their churches, and that the Jews may be Jews in their synagogues only. I desire that, outside those places in which all render equally homage to the

Divinity, that they may enjoy uniformly the same political rights and my paternal protection."

But all these innovations were not made without resistance and without murmurs; that of the national militia brought about insurrections in Bosnia and Albania. The old Mussulmans regarded all these reforms as sacrileges, and Mahmoud as the destroyer of Islamism; the dervishes especially, in their savage fanaticism did not conceal the hatred they bore him, and one of them, as he was crossing the bridge of Galata one day, dared to stop him with these words: "Giaour Padischa, art thou not satiated with abominations? Thou shalt answer before Allah for thy impieties; thou destroyest the institutions of thy fathers, thou ruinest the religion and drawest down the vengeance of the Prophet upon thyself and us." The Sultan ordered him to be driven away, exclaiming: "It is a madman!" "Madman!" replied the dervish, "it is thou and thy unworthy counsellors that have lost your senses! Hasten hither, Mussulmans; the spirit of God which animates me and which I must obey has commanded me to tell the truth, and has promised me the recompense of the Saints."* The fanatic was arrested and put to death; but his brethren raised a tomb over him, which was piously visited by crowds, and where it was pretended that numerous miracles were wrought.

The quarrel, meanwhile, between the Sultan and the Pacha of Egypt was only adjourned. At the commencement of 1834 insurrectionary movements manifested themselves in Syria against the despotic administration of Ibrahim; the mountaineers of Nablous, Jerusalem and Hebron would not consent to allow themselves to be disarmed and submit to the conscription; a vast conspiracy threatened to exterminate all who belonged to the Egyptian administration; at the same time the Hedjaz and Yemen rose. Mahmoud thought the moment opportune to attack his vassal, and a *corps d'armée*, formed at Sivas, under the command of Reschid-Mehemet Pacha, advanced towards Syria. Ibrahim, who had just overcome

* Ubicini, "Letters upon Turkey.

the rebellion of the mountaineers, occupied the districts of Raka upon the Euphrates, and Orfa beyond that river. The two armies remained in observation of one another. Mehemet accused Russia of urging the Sultan into making a war, and proposed to France and England to form with him a coalition against the Czar, of which he would be the vanguard and which would save the Ottoman Empire from an inevitable conquest. That proposition was rejected; but European diplomacy endeavoured to reconcile the two rivals. Mehemet demanded to transmit hereditarily to his family his power and his pachalics. "I shall abandon all disquietude," said he, "when I shall have assured my personal position and that of my descendants; I shall only then have to place at the disposition of the Sublime Porte all my forces both of land and sea, and I shall become for the Sultan, my master, a powerful and useful support." Mahmoud consented to accord him hereditary right for Egypt and even for Acre and Tripoli; but he demanded the restitution of Adana and of the rest of Syria. Mehemet persisted, ceased to pay the tribute and made levies which he concentrated in Syria. Russia solicited England and France to unite themselves to her in order to blockade the ports of Egypt and Syria, even telling them that she was decided to act alone. England and France still tried the paths of negotiation, declaring that they would place themselves against that one of the two enemies who should be the aggressor; but the Sultan, urged on by Russia, ordered his army to cross the Euphrates: Hafiz Pacha, who commanded it, obeyed (21st April, 1839). Mehemet wrote to the consuls-general that "if the Great Powers consented to guarantee him peace, and to obtain for him hereditary right for his family, he would withdraw a portion of his troops from Syria, and would be ready for an understanding upon a definitive arrangement." And, as Russia was preparing herself to renew her expedition of 1832, England proposed to France to force the Dardanelles if the Russians appeared in the Bosphorus; France refused.

Whilst diplomacy strove by impotent efforts to solve a question so badly entangled, the Sultan, in a Divan held

the 6th June, proclaimed Mehemet and his son *fermanlis*. Mehemet, on his part, wrote to his son "that a prolonged patience was becoming injurious to the interests of Egypt, and that it was necessary to march against the Ottomans and crush them. As the aggression came on their part, the Great Powers of Europe will excuse us and hold us justified. Drive out of our territories the enemy's troops, and march upon their grand army, to which you must give battle. If victory decides for us, you will not enter Asia Minor, but march against Malatia, Karpous, Orfa, and Diarbekir." A battle was fought at Nezib, and the Turks were thoroughly put to the rout; Hafiz Pacha retired upon Marash, leaving behind him 20,000 muskets and 160 pieces of cannon. Ibrahim was marching upon Aïntab, when an aide-de-camp of Marshal Soult presented himself with a letter from Mehemet Ali (29th June, 1839). "It is too late," said the Egyptian General, "it is impossible for me at this moment to obey my father's orders; he would not have given them me if he had known the aggression of the Turks and the brilliant victory we have just gained. I have reproached myself for having stopped at Kutaieh in 1833; I must repair that error." However, at the entreaties and representations of the French envoy, Ibrahim consented not to occupy Konieh, the capital of Karamania, and he contented himself with Marash and Orfa.

At the moment when the empire of the Osmanlis seemed menaced, if not with ruin, at least with a new dismemberment, Mahmoud II. died, 1st July, 1839.

5. *Succession of Abdul Medjid.—Treaty of the 15th July, 1840.—Conclusion of the difference between the Sultan and the Pacha of Egypt.*

An agitation sufficiently lively manifested itself on the death of Mahmoud; but Khosrew Pacha checked it quickly, and the first act of the young prince who girded

on the sabre of Osman in circumstances so perilous, was to concentrate authority in his hands, by naming Khosrew Grand Vizier. It was decided immediately that hostilities should cease, and that it should be endeavoured to settle the difference pacifically. The Capudan-pacha Achmet received orders to return to Constantinople. But as Khosrew was his enemy, he thought that he was recalled in order to get rid of him, and he resolved to unite himself with Mehemet Ali, and give up his fleet to him. "Khosrew," said he to Admiral Lalande, who was instructed to prevent a naval collision between the Turks and Egyptians, "Khosrew has by a crime seized upon the dignity of Vizier; he is sold to Russia and desires to cause the friends of Sultan Mahmoud to perish, to recommence the war against the Viceroy of Egypt, and thus to furnish the Russians with motives for penetrating and establishing themselves in the Ottoman Empire. I have therefore resolved to concert with Hafiz Pacha and Mehemet Ali, to bring about a cessation of actual war, and form between us a confederation which shall place a limit to the ambition of the Russians, and then cause the fall of the intriguers who have just seized upon power." The Turkish fleet, in fact, despite the representations of the French Admiral, was carried to Alexandria. Mehemet was surprised at this defection, but he resolved to reap advantage from it, and, the European consuls advising him to send back the fleet to Constantinople, he replied that "he would not restore it until he should have obtained the hereditary right of his governments and the dismissal of Khosrew Pacha."

In this situation, the Divan resolved (27th July, 1839) to give Mehemet the hereditary possession of Egypt and Syria, less the district of Adana, whilst reserving to the Porte the administration of the Holy Cities; but, at the moment when that resolution was about to be put into execution, the five Great Powers declared, in a collective note, that they were agreed upon the settlement of the Eastern question, and they invited the Sultan to decide upon nothing without their concurrence (28th July). The

Porte declared that it awaited its safety from Europe, and thanked the allies for their intervention.

But the five Powers were somewhat less than agreed; they had all different interests, and expected to resolve the question in divergent ways. Thus, England, Austria, and Prussia demanded that Syria should be restored to the Sultan: France was opposed thereto; Austria put forth the idea of a Congress: Russia rejected it; France and England demanded that their fleets should enter the Dardanelles: Austria and Russia threatened to withdraw; England proposed to blockade the ports of the Viceroy: France refused to co-operate in that rigorous act; England proposed to cover Constantinople with an army composed of contingents of the five Powers: France again refused. The result of all this disagreement was that the alliance of France and England, which had maintained peace in Europe since 1830, showed signs of breaking up, to the great joy of the three Northern Courts. It must be added that this question of the defence and maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, traditional and familiar for France, as of which we have seen some twenty instances, to the diplomacy of the old monarchy, was badly understood by the government of Louis Philippe. In fact, in the eyes of that Government, the greatest enemy the Ottoman Porte had was Russia: unable to give to Turkey against that enemy the strength which she no longer possessed, it was necessary to constitute for her a powerful rear-guard in the Pacha of Egypt; and the simultaneous existence of Sultan and Pacha was what that diplomacy called the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. That was a very confused and very complicated policy, for the rear-guard and the main body were enemies, and, whatever the arrangement made between them, they must remain enemies. Moreover, that policy might appear a double one, for all Europe believed that France was unwilling to aggrandize the Pacha except to augment the influence she had in his States. Finally, French diplomacy deceived itself, both upon the strength of the Egyptian establishment, and upon the real interest that France had in that

establishment. The policy of England was more simple and clear: she desired to substitute for the exclusive protectorate of Russia over the Ottoman Empire, the protectorate of all Europe, and, in order to give strength to that empire, to restore to it the provinces which a rebellious pacha had wrested from it; she desired, moreover, to destroy the influence that France had obtained in Egypt; in fine she hated the Viceroy of Egypt, who created a rivalry to her commerce by his cotton and other produce, and who refused to open to her, by the Red Sea or by the Euphrates, a road towards India. As to the three Northern Powers, they saw really, in the question under debate, only the rupture of the Anglo-French alliance, and, for that, Russia sacrificed momentarily her ambitious projects against the Ottoman Empire.

In this situation, secret negotiations were entered upon between England and Russia in order to resolve the question without France and even against France: Russia directed all her efforts to it, by showing the latter disposed to resume her revolutionary career and tread in the footsteps of the empire. In the end, the four Powers, after having solicited the Government of Louis Philippe to abandon his isolated policy, but in secret satisfied to offer him an affront and to recall to France its evil days of 1815, had an understanding among themselves to settle the difference alone and without her.

Consequently, unknown to French diplomacy, without giving it either offer or warning, they signed with the Porte a treaty (15th July, 1840) by which the Sultan accorded to Mehemet the hereditary possession of Egypt and life possession of the pachalic of St. Jean d'Acre, on condition that, within ten days of the notification, he should accept that arrangement, and withdraw immediately his troops from Arabia, Syria, Candia, &c.; if he took twenty days to accept the arrangement, he should lose the pachalic of St. Jean d'Acre; finally, if he refused entirely, he would be placed in a state of deposition and pursued to extremity by the combined forces of the four Powers and of Turkey.

France, ruled by a Government well-intentioned but who had badly handled the question, made immense preparations, which the coalesced Powers imitated, and she found herself menaced with a general war for a question of delimitation of the territory of a pachalic. England, however, did not alarm herself about these armaments: she summoned Mehemet Ali to evacuate Syria, and upon his refusal, Beyrout was attacked by the English fleet joined by a few Austrian and Turkish vessels. Afterwards a corps of 9,000 men was landed and placed itself in communication with the Druses and Maronites who had long groaned under a heavy taxation, and were eager to rise against the Egyptians. Solyman Pacha, who commanded in Beyrout, soon saw his communications with Ibrahim cut, and the Emir Beschir, having become suspected by his compatriots, was obliged to surrender to the English, who sent him to Malta. On the 8th October, Solyman Pacha evacuated Beyrout, and went to join Ibrahim, who thereupon beheld desertion spread through his army. Latakia, Tortosa, Tripoli, Seyd, and Tyre were occupied by the allies, who on the 3rd November laid siege to St. Jean d'Acre. After a few hours' bombardment, the arsenal exploded, one half of the garrison was killed, and the town, a moiety of it having been laid in ruins, surrendered. It was the ruin of Mehemet's hopes, who had accumulated immense resources in that place.

Admiral Napier next presented himself in Alexandria, traced before the Pacha a dismal picture of his situation, and wrested from him a treaty, which, exceeding the conditions of pacification indicated before the war, reduced him to the possession of Egypt (27th November, 1840). Mehemet hastened to execute it, evacuated Syria, Arabia, Candia, and gave up the Ottoman Fleet. That abrupt evacuation proved calamitous to Syria. She fell immediately into anarchy, which proved that the so much decried authority of the Viceroy was not too heavy for that country. As for the Divan, victorious by the arms of her allies, she could have wished to push her triumph to the bitter end; a successor to the Pacha had even been

appointed; but England compelled it to accept (2nd June, 1841) the treaty signed by Admiral Napier.

Finally, on the 13th July, a treaty was concluded between the four Powers and France, who thus re-entered the European concert: it guaranteed the closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to ships of war of all nations.

Such was the termination of the quarrel between the Ottoman Porte and the Pacha Mehemet Ali—a quarrel which appeared for some time to assume the aspect of a revolution by which the empire would have been transformed; a quarrel of which the posterior events have demonstrated the mediocre influence and trifling extent that France had in it, and in which she played a part so little worthy of her traditions and her interests.

The young Sultan was after this mostly guided by the counsels of England, very ably conducted by Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, her ambassador at Constantinople.

6. *Reign of Abdul Medjid.*

Abdul Medjid had, immediately on his accession, demonstrated, by a remarkable act, that the path traced by his father would not be abandoned by him. In fact, in presence of all the great dignitaries of the empire, of the representatives of all the religious communities and the foreign ambassadors, his Minister, Reschid Pacha, read the famous hatti-cherif of Gulkhane, which may be regarded as the programme of the reforms which the new Sultan proposed to make. That act, which had for its object the entrance of the Ottoman Empire upon European ways—1. Guaranteed to all subjects of the empire, without distinction, their life, their honour and their fortune; 2. Re-established a uniform and regular mode of assessing and previously levying the taxes; 3. Regulated, by legal powers, the levy of soldiers and the duration of military service; 4. Suppressed monopolies; 5. Ordered that the

taxes should be levied in proportion to the fortune of each; 6. Promised laws that should fix the expenses of the land and sea forces with the contingent of each locality; 7. Ordered that every cause should be tried publicly according to the civil and religious laws; 8. That every subject should possess his property with all the rights of ownership and might sell it; finally, 9. That the heirs of a criminal should not be deprived of their claims to his estate.

Michael the younger, son of the old *Knès* of Servia, went to Constantinople to receive the investiture of that principality. A few words are necessary in explanation of that event. Since 1830, Servia had obtained a hatti-cherif which declared her independent with a particular administration, and Milosch Obrenowitch as prince. The latter had striven to destroy the feudality in vigour since the conquest, and, profiting by the troubles that the reforms of Mahmoud raised in Turkey, he had caused the districts of Kraina, Tzerna Ricka, the two circuits of Krouchevatz, the country of the Drina, &c., to be ceded to him. But the cupidity of Milosch was excessive: he monopolized the income of the customs, raised the duties, possessed himself of the communal properties, &c. Risings took place in 1835, and forced him to grant a charter of guarantees. At length, in 1838, he found a new constitution imposed upon him by the Sultan which limited his power. He invoked in vain the support of Russia and England, attempted fruitlessly a military movement, and was compelled to abdicate, 13th June, 1839. He was replaced by his eldest son Milan, who died soon after; his second son Michael was then elected by the Serbs, and had come, as already said, to demand from the Sultan the investiture of his dignity. Abdul Medjid gave him a favourable reception and sent him back laden with presents.

The Christian populations, oppressed in Syria since the departure of the Emir Beschir, rose in arms; Europe intervened, and Omar Pacha, whose conduct had appeared odious, was replaced: the Druses and Maronites received

distinct chiefs, and England and Prussia installed a Protestant bishop at Jerusalem (1841).

Prince Michael, governed by his mother, alienated himself from the Turks and Serbs: twice defeated, he fled to Semlin; a Provisional Government proclaimed Alexander Petrowitch, grandson of Czerni Georges, whose election was sanctioned by the Porte. Russia protested against that revolution, which gave power to a party that was opposed to her.

In Wallachia, the Voïvode Alexander Ghika was deposed (24th October, 1842), and replaced by Bibesco, whose election was opposed by the Porte. The new prince introduced numerous reforms into the principality. The recruiting, established by the hatti-cherif of Gulkhane, brought about an insurrection among the warlike populations of Albania (1844), who massacred the Christians and were only subjected by the exertions of Reschid Pacha. In the Lebanon the Druses surprised and massacred the Maronites, who were forbidden to take up arms. France having lost her individual action over those countries, the European ambassadors demanded justice for these barbarities (1845).

Proceeding with his projected reforms, the Sultan next turned his attention to the organization of public education: the Ottoman University was declared an institution of the State; the instruction was divided into primary teaching, which existed in part; secondary teaching, which had entirely to be created, and superior instruction (1845). Publication of an administrative code (*tolimâti o' mournieh*), which regulated the duties and obligations of functionaries (1846). Institution of mixed tribunals of commerce, of which the first trial was made at Constantinople (April): the legations nominated among their compatriots ten prominent merchants who should fill in turn the office of judges. The Porte nominated, on its side, ten notable Mussulmans.

In Wallachia, Prince Bibesco, in accord with the National Assembly, enfranchised 14,000 slave families. A treaty of customs union was contracted with

Moldavia (1847). Prince Bibesco alienated from himself the peasants by imposing upon them, in favour of the proprietors, six days of labour annually by the piece, and the whole of the population in causing by a firman the suspension of the National Assembly (1848).

At the news of the revolution in Vienna, therefore, a rising took place; the Prince, after having compulsively accepted a Constitution (23rd June), fled, and a Provisional Government was established (27th June). The movement propagated itself in Moldavia, and the young Wallachians, whom the revolutions of France and Germany had dazzled, summoned the populations of the Bukowina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia to form a State, a *Roumanian* Empire. The Porte sent a commissioner into the Principality with troops commanded by Omar Pacha. But at the same time (28th June), 12,000 Russians penetrated into Moldavia: the Porte protested, and a Turkish corps occupied Braïla (2nd Aug.). The Provisional Government fled. 60,000 Russians immediately occupied Wallachia.

On the 10th November occurred the death of Ibrahim, son of Mehemet Ali, who had governed for the last three years in place of his father, become very infirm. He was replaced by Abbas Pacha, his nephew.

In 1849, the Convention of Balta Liman was passed between the Porte and Russia: the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia were to be nominated for seven years by the Sultan; the organic regulation was again resumed with vigour, with the exception of certain modifications; 25,000 to 35,000 men of each of the two Powers were to occupy for the moment the two provinces; after the re-establishment of tranquillity, 10,000 men of each nation were to remain until the completion of the works of amelioration; the native militia was to be organized; a Russian and a Turkish commissioner were to watch over the progress of affairs and to name the members of committees of revision; the present arrangement was made for seven years. Stirbey was nominated hospodar of Wallachia, and Ghika hospodar of Moldavia.

On the 1st August, 1849, died Mehemet Ali, in his 80th year.

The Porte refused to deliver up to Russia and Austria the Hungarians and Poles who had taken refuge upon its territory, and, after a diplomatic struggle, in which it was sustained by England and France, it succeeded in making the internment of those refugees in Asia Minor accepted; and a year afterwards it set them at liberty.

A decree of June, 1850, ordained that "in future, the personal tax shall be collected in each province by the primats (*Kodja-bachis*) of the four nations; they were to proceed according to the estate and fortune of each subject of the Imperial Government, and consign the said impost to the patriarchate or into the hands of the *Khakam-bachi*, by whom it will be paid into the Imperial treasury."

The Porte, still continuing its reforms (1851), seeks to attach again closely to the Empire the provinces that have attempted to render themselves independent. It strives especially to resume its rights of sovereignty over Egypt. Abbas Pacha having conceded to an English company the faculty of establishing a railway from the Nile to the Red Sea, the Divan is opposed to that concession, which it regards as an usurpation over the right of the Sultan; such a bargain, it says, being likely to bring about differences between Egypt and England, would render the Porte responsible, or would authorize England to do justice to herself. Abbas Pacha submitted and obtained the authorization of the Sultan.

The *tanzimat* or entirety of the laws issuing from the hatti-cherif of Gulkhane, was applied successively and with measure to the different parts of the Empire, according as they were more or less apt, by their usages, their population, their submission, to receive them. In 1851 Abbas Pacha was summoned to apply it immediately: that was a declaration that the legislative authority belonged only to the Sultan and thus to make Egypt return to its immediate obedience. The Pacha did not refuse to receive the *tanzimat;* but he disputed over its details, and especially upon the right which it took from him of pro-

nouncing sentences of death; he tried even to interest the Great Powers in his cause. But, after some months of discussion, this weak, cruel, debauched prince was forced to apply the *tanzimat*, even in the article which took from him the right of life and death.

The year 1851 was further marked by two innovations: commissioners extraordinary were charged to visit the different provinces of the Empire, to collect the complaints of the authorities and the inhabitants, and to transmit them to the Sultan; and an academy of sciences and letters was established at Constantinople.

Finally, that year witnessed the commencement of the discussions relative to the Holy Places, which was destined to bring about the Crimean war of 1854.

7. *Discussions relative to the Holy Places.—The Russian troops invade the Danubian Principalities.*

We have already set forth on p. 41, the rights which France possessed over the monuments called the Holy Places, what struggles she had had to sustain on this subject with the Greek Christians, how she had been, by successive usurpations, dispossessed of the greater portion of these rights. Since 1757, those usurpations had continued, particularly since the French Revolution, especially since 1808, when, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre having been devastated by a fire, the Greeks had effected repairs therein, in consequence of which they had seized upon all the Holy Places. That protection exercised by France over the Holy Sepulchre and other venerated edifices was the symbol of her ancient power in the East derived from the Crusades. All the successive Governments in France for the past sixty years had not failed to claim that patriotic right, but unsuccessfully, so much had the Christian Greeks grown powerful since they became sensible of the protectorate of Russia. In May, 1851, the Government of Louis Napoleon, after having invoked the capitulations of 1740, demanded and obtained from the Divan the formation of a mixed commission charged to examine

the various titles and documents which secured to the Latins the possession of the Holy Places. The commission began its labours on the 15th July. France claimed: 1. The monument of the Holy Sepulchre, in the Church of the same name, at Jerusalem; 2. The great cupola built above the Holy Sepulchre; 3. The Stone of Unction (mixed possession); 4. The site of the tombs of the French Kings in Adam's Chapel, under the Calvary; 5. The seven arched vaults of the Virgin; 6. The church of Gethsemane and the tomb of the Virgin; 7. The upper church of Bethlehem, with the gardens and cemeteries dependent thereon; 8. The mixed possession of the altar of Calvary where Jesus Christ was lifted up on the Cross. She declared, moreover, that the Latins consented to make particular concessions to the other communions, but renewable annually.

The Emperor of Russia, vexed at these claims on the part of France, strove to hinder their concession. After several months of discussion, the Commission of the Holy Places recognized the rights of France, but proposed the *status quo*, except the admission of the Latins into the sanctuary of the Virgin, and the right of the Greeks to enter into the sanctuary of the Ascension. A firman made public confirmed those decisions. France accepted that injury to her ancient privileges by condescension and the desire of preserving peace; but fresh exigencies on the part of Russia revealed themselves and brought about the famous mission of Prince Mentschikoff.

It has been seen what secret, intimate and constant ties connected the Christians subjected to the Turkish Empire with the sovereigns of Russia; they were their future liberators, and the year 1853 was assigned as that in which the Cross, after four centuries of slavery, should be replaced over the dome of St. Sophia. Since that Turkey had been despoiled in a few years of Greece, of Servia, of the Danubian provinces, of the suzerainty of Algiers, and even in part of Egypt. Russia regarded that Empire as a sick man in moribund agony, and whose inheritance must be secured. The state of Europe seemed favourable to

such an ambition, the commotion produced by the events of 1848 being scarcely appeased, and France, that secular protectress of Turkey, appearing, on account of her revolutions, incapable of any movement.

Deceived by these appearances, and dazzled by the continual success of his reign of twenty-six years, the Emperor Nicholas took the pretext of the discussion upon the Holy Places to despatch Prince Mentschikoff on a special embassy to Constantinople to demand, by virtue of the treaty of Kaïnardji, the redress of numerous wrongs experienced by Russian pilgrims in the States of the Sultan, the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey, and the settlement of the question respecting the Holy Places on terms which would have left the supremacy to the Greeks. The ambassador demanded an answer in five days; "a longer delay," he said, "would be considered as a want of delicacy towards his Government, which would impose upon it the most painful obligations." Mentschikoff purposely delivered his message with marks of the greatest contempt, appearing in full Divan in his great coat and dirty boots (5th May, 1853).

On the 10th of May, the Porte, assured of vigorous support from the English and French ambassadors, replied with moderation that it was ready to satisfy the demands relative to the subjects, pilgrims and Russian Churches. As to the immunities of the Greek Church, it proved, by its constant solicitude for its Christian subjects, its intention of never doing injury to those privileges; to accept the engagement claimed by Russia would be to annul and destroy the basis of its independence.

On the 18th of May, Mentschikoff after having renewed his threatening demands, declared his mission terminated: "The refusal of a guarantee for the orthodox worship," he said, "would henceforth impose upon the Imperial Government the necessity of seeking it in its proper power." Mentschikoff, after handing in the ultimatum which was disregarded, took his departure, accompanied by all the *personnel* of the embassy (21st May), with the

threat that he had come in his great coat, but would return in his uniform.

Nicholas was irritated to see his influence in the East held in check by France and Austria. In the question of the Holy Places, France had just obtained a solution favourable to the pretensions of the Catholic Powers. "The Porte authorized the Latins to build an ambry in the cave of Bethlehem." After Omar Pacha's invasion of Montenegro, it was the Austrian ambassador who, without the aid of Russia, had procured the retreat of the Ottoman troops. Nicholas affected to see in those two decisions of the Porte an attempt to annul the right of protectorate over the Eastern Christians, conferred on the Russian sovereign by the treaties of Kaïnardji, Bucharest, and Adrianople.

England hesitated to take part in a quarrel in which she saw little but the question of the Holy Places and the pretensions of France; but on the 9th and 14th of January, 1853, two private interviews between Nicholas and the English ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, had revealed to the British Minister the ultimate aim of the Emperor's schemes. Their aim was nothing less than to wind up the bankrupt estate of the "sick man." Servia, the Principalities, and Bulgaria were to form independent States under the protection of Nicholas. As to Constantinople, if circumstances obliged him to occupy it, he would establish himself there as trustee and not as proprietor. England, in her turn, should be free to appropriate territories at her convenience, provided she did not stretch out her hand for Constantinople. "Now," he said, "it is as a friend and a gentleman that I speak to you; if England and myself can come to an understanding about this affair, the rest matters little to me, and I shall care very little as to what *the others* may think or do." He insisted on this latter point. "If we are only agreed, I am completely at ease about the West of Europe; what *the others* may think at the bottom of their heart is of small importance." These "others" were first France and then Austria. Nicholas flattered himself that

he could persuade and carry away the English; but it did not enter into his calculations that Napoleonic France could ever form an alliance with the England of Waterloo, of St. Helena, and of Hudson Lowe. The imprudent confidence to Seymour rendered the strange alliance possible. England took fright, and it was now her turn to urge France to energetic measures. The invasion of the Principalities appeared to her to be the first step towards the execution of the schemes of dismemberment.

On the 21st May a note from Count Nesselrode, Minister of the Czar, declared that the Russian armies were about to enter the Danubian Principalities in order to occupy them until the Porte shall give its adhesion to the demands laid down by Prince Mentschikoff. "The right claimed by Russia," he said, "is similar to that which France has exercised over the Catholics of the Ottoman Empire for centuries; it confers no right of perpetual intermeddling in the interior affairs of that Empire."

In presence of these eventualities of war, France and England despatched their fleets to Tenedos, at the same time authorizing their ambassadors to summon those fleets to Constantinople for the defence of the Sultan.

On the 3rd July, 1853, the Russian troops crossed the Pruth, and at once entered Wallachia and Moldavia under the command of General Gortschakoff. Nicholas published a proclamation, in which he announced that he did not intend to begin the war, but that he wished to have some security on which he could rely for the Divan's strict execution of the treaties. The English and French fleets now approached the threatened points, and took up a position in Besika Bay, without crossing the Straits, which the conditions of the treaties still kept closed to ships of war. Russia, however, declared in a circular that this transaction was a threat, which was sure to cause new complications.

Austria proposed that a conference should assemble at Vienna, and delegates from the five Powers met and took part in it. Prussia had made advances to Austria. At this moment peace might have been secured. The Czar was disposed to make certain concessions, provided his

right to the protectorate was recognized; but Turkey took the initiative in war by summoning Russia to evacuate the Principalities. The Turks displayed more energy in this war on the Danube than the Russians expected. On the 30th November, 1853, the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope by Admiral Nakhimof destroyed all hopes of localizing the war. The French and English fleets, which at the beginning of hostilities had entered the Bosphorus, now sailed into the Black Sea, and obliged the Russian fleet to withdraw into the ports.

On the 29th of January, 1854, Napoleon III. had addressed an autograph letter to Nicholas as a last attempt at peace. Things, however, had now gone too far, and the Czar's reply left no alternative but to make war. Meanwhile England had published Seymour's despatches about his interview with Nicholas, and this violation of the secresy asked by the Emperor, "speaking as a friend and a gentleman," profoundly irritated Russia. The consequences of these revelations were very serious. France, Austria, and Prussia saw how completely Nicholas intended to sacrifice them, and were stung by his contempt for all that "the others" might think or do. On the 12th of March, 1854, France and England assured Turkey of their support. On the 10th of April an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance was concluded. On the 20th, Austria, which was making a threatening concentration of troops on the Danube, signed with Prussia a treaty of guarantee and a treaty of alliance in case the Czar attacked Austria or crossed the Balkans. Nicholas had found means to unite the whole of Europe against him.

The immense superiority of the navy of the allies allowed them to attack Russia in all her seas. In the Black Sea they bombarded the military port of Odessa (22nd April, 1854), while respecting the town and the commercial port. The Russian settlements on the coast of the Caucasus—Anapa, Redout-Kalé, and Soukoum-Kalé—had been burned by the Russians themselves. In the Baltic the allies blockaded Cronstadt, disembarked on the isles of Aland, took the fortress of Bomarsund (16th

August, 1854), and in 1855 bombarded Svéaborg. In the White Sea they attacked the fortified monastery of Solovétski. In the sea of Okhotsk they blockaded the Siberian ports, destroyed the arsenal of Petropavlovsk, and threatened the position of the Russians on the river Amour.

The Russians, menaced by the Austrian concentration on the Danube, by the disembarkation of the French and English (first at Gallipoli and then at Varna), made a last effort to take Silistria, the siege of which (April to July) had already cost them many men. They failed. In the Dobrudscha, an expedition directed by the French had no military results, but the army was decimated by the cholera and fevers, from the marshes. The Russians decided to evacuate the Principalities, which were then occupied by the Austrians, according to an agreement with Europe and the Sultan. The war on the Danube was ended; the Crimean war had begun.*

.It had been finally resolved on in a council held at Varna (21st July) between the generals of the French, English and Turkish armies. On the 14th September, 500 ships landed the expeditionary troops near Eupatoria, on the Western coast of the Crimea; on the 20th, the battle of the Alma opened them the way to Sebastopol. This was a thunderbolt to Russia. Since 1812 no enemy had landed on her soil; the Crimea, protected by a formidable fleet, impregnable fortresses, and a numerous army, seemed secure from all attacks. Now the army was beaten, and the Black Sea fleet, which had retreated to the harbour of Sebastopol, only served to obstruct the channel. Sebastopol itself was so badly protected and armed—at least, on the land side—that many officers still think that a bold march of the allies on Sebastopol would have made them masters of the town.

When, however, the first momentary surprise had passed, the Russians set to work. In a few days they repaired years of carelessness or official peculation. Townsfolk,

* See Camille Rousset, "Histoire de la Guerre de Crimée," two vols; and Rambaud's "Français et Russes, Moscow et Sevastopol."

soldiers and sailors laboured at the earthworks In a very short time, thanks to this marvellous activity, the stony soil of the Chersonesus was raised in redoubts, and in ramparts crowned with fascines. The bastions of the Centre, of the Mast, of the two Redans, and of the Malakof, all afterwards so celebrated, bristled with guns taken from the navy, and 14,000 or 15,000 sailors, all eager to avenge the ruin of the fleet, came to reinforce the garrison. Admirals Kornilof, Istomine, and Nakhimof, who were all three to die on the bastion of the Malakof, directed the defence. The allies had marched on the port of Balaclava, which they had captured. They then took up a position on the south of Sebastopol, investing at the same time both the town and the Karabelnaïa, and getting supplies by the ports of Kamiesch and Balaclava. On the northern side, the beleaguered place communicated freely, by the bridges over the great harbour, with the Russian field army, and could continually receive reinforcements and supplies. It was less a city besieged by an army than two armies entrenched opposite each other and keeping all their communications. Many times the allies were interrupted in their labours by the field army; and they had to give battle at Balaclava (25th October) to the Russians, who were repulsed—a battle rendered memorable by the gallant but rash and fatal charge of the British Cavalry, when, by some mistake in the delivery of orders, nearly two-thirds of the Light Brigade were uselessly sacrificed.

This battle was soon followed by that of Inkermann (5th November), when the Russians, with very superior forces, and in the presence of the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, again attacked the British position, and were once more repulsed with dreadful loss. The British, taken by surprise, were most gallantly supported by their French allies. At the same time the garrison made a sortie and attacked the left wing of the besiegers, but was equally repulsed. The allies lost 4,000 men, the Russians 10,000.

Whilst the allies dug trenches, bored mines, and multi-

plied their batteries, the Russian engineers, directed by Todleben, strengthened the town fortifications, and built new ones—under the enemy's fire. The allies, in spite of the hardships of a most severe winter, established themselves more and more firmly, braving in a corner of the Crimea all the forces of the Empire of the Czars. They suffered, however, most severely in their encampments. The British soldiers, especially, died by hundreds of cold, disease, and privation, while the clothing, stores, and medicines, which might have averted these calamities, were, through the almost incredible bungling and mismanagement of the commissariat department, lying unpacked at Balaclava. The just and violent indignation felt in England at this state of things produced the fall of the Aberdeen Ministry in February, 1855.

On the 2nd of December, 1854, a treaty of alliance had been concluded between France, Austria, and Great Britain: (1.) The three Powers mutually engaged to enter into no arrangement with the Court of Russia before having deliberated in common; (2.) Austria engaged to defend the frontiers of the Principalities occupied by her against any return of the Russian forces, and to offer no prejudice to the free movement of the allied armies on the same territory; (3.) Hostilities having just broken out between Austria and Russia, Austria contracted with the Western Powers an alliance offensive and defensive.

The Russian ports of the Black Sea and in the Sea of Azof were (15th January, 1855) placed in a state of blockade by the French and English fleets.

A treaty of alliance offensive and defensive having been made (26th January) between the Western Powers and the King of Sardinia, that prince sent to the Crimea an auxiliary force of 15,000 men under General Marmora.

Twenty-five thousand Russians attacked Eupatoria (16th February), and were repulsed by the Turks under Omar Pacha.

The sudden and unexpected death of the Emperor of Russia, Nicholas I. (2nd March), seemed to open a prospect for peace. Alexander II, his son, succeeded him, but

his first words were not favourable to peace: "The object of our efforts will be that towards which Peter I., the Empress Catherine, Alexander, and our father of glorious memory tended." However, a few days after, negotiations were opened at Vienna between all the belligerent Powers. The conferences lasted until the 26th of April, and without result.

CHAPTER IV.

1. *End of the Crimean War.—Treaty of Paris.*

ALEXANDER II., born in 1819, succeeded to the throne at the age of thirty-seven, under circumstances which were as complicated within as without. "You will find the burden heavy," said his father on his deathbed. His first care was to terminate on honourable conditions the war which was exhausting Russia. At the news of the death of Nicholas, the Funds had risen on all the exchanges of Europe. This peaceful hope did not allow itself to be discouraged by the proclamation by which the new Emperor proposed to himself "to accomplish the schemes and desires of our illustrious predecessors—Peter, Catherine, Alexander the well-beloved, and our father of imperishable memory." The new sovereign knew better than any one how little the ambitious projects of Peter and Catherine were appropriate to the circumstances in which he found himself. A conference was again opened at Vienna, between the representatives of Austria, Russia, and the two Western Powers. They could not agree as to the guarantees to be exacted from Russia. France demanded the neutralization of the Black Sea, or the limitation of the number of vessels which the Czar might keep in it. "Before you limit our forces," Gortschakoff and Titof, the representatives of Russia might reply, "at least take Sebastopol."

The siege continued. Sardinia in her turn now sent 20,000 men to the East. Austria had engaged (2nd December, 1854) to defend the Principalities against Russia, and Prussia to defend Austria. Napoleon III. and Queen

Victoria exchanged visits. Pélissier had succeeded General Canrobert (16th May). In the night of the 22nd of May two sorties of the Russians were repulsed. The allies encamped with a strong force on the left bank of the Tchernaïa, an expedition destroyed the military establishments of Kertch and Yenikalé, occupied the Sea of Azof, and bombarded Taganrog, thus leaving to the Russians no

EMPEROR ALEXANDER II. OF RUSSIA.

base of supplies except Perekop. The Turks were in Anapa, and summoned the Circassians to revolt.

Pélissier had announced that he would take Sebastopol. On the 7th of June he took the Green Mamelon and the White Works by assault. On the 18th the French assailed the Malakof, and the English the Redan, but they were repulsed with a loss of 3,000 men. On the 16th of August the Italian contingent distinguished itself at the battle of Traktir on the Tchernaïa. The last day of

Sebastopol had come: 874 guns thundered against the bastions and the town. The Russians displayed a stoical bravery and a reckless intrepidity. In the last twenty-eight days of the siege they lost 18,000 men by bombardment alone; a million and a half of bullets, bombs, shells and grenades had been thrown into the town. The French had dug fifty miles of trenches during the 336 days of the siege, and 4,100 feet of mines before one bastion alone. They had pushed their lines within 100 feet of the Malakof, under "a hell fire," the noise of which was heard for more than sixty-two miles round. The Russian bastions crumbled, bomb-proof roofs were driven in, the gunners fell by hundreds, the soldiers of the reserve by thousands. Kornilof, Istomine, and Nakhimof had fallen. The besieged had no longer time to repair the breaches made by the batteries, to change the useless pieces, hardly to carry away the dead. In one single day 70,000 projectiles were fired into the town. It was the beginning of the end. On the 8th of September, 1855, at twelve o'clock, the allied batteries suddenly ceased to fire. The French threw themselves on the Malakof, and maintained their position against all efforts to dislodge them, and, in spite of the check of the English at the Great Redan, Sebastopol was taken. The Russians evacuated the city and the Karabelnaïa, burning and blowing up everything in their rear, and retreated to the northern side. Meanwhile the navy had continued to threaten the coasts; it destroyed the fort of Kinburn, and the Russians blew up that of Otchakof.

Russia, however, did not yet seem ready to submit. Gortschakoff announced to the army assembled at the north of the harbour of Sebastopol that "he would not voluntarily abandon this country where St. Vladimir had received baptism." Alexander too encouraged the brave troops with his presence, and wept over the ruins of the great fortress. The *Bee* newspaper officially announced to Europe "that the war was now becoming serious, and that Sebastopol being destroyed, a stronger fortress would be built;" but the fact could no longer be disguised that the

country wished for peace. This war had cost 250,000 men; the banks only paid in paper, and the public refused that of the Government. England, on her side, manifested the most warlike disposition. Palmerston and the greater part of the British newspapers did not consider Russia sufficiently humiliated, but it was obvious that the war was drawing to a close. The treaty of November, 1855, between France and Sweden, only contained a simple guarantee, and no mention was made of the offensive alliance proclaimed by the Gazettes. The fall of Kars, by consoling the military vanity of Russia, made her more inclined to treat. Alexander II. declared his intention of adhering in principle to the "ultimatum of the four guarantees" presented by Count Esterhazy, and a Congress met at Paris on the 25th of February, 1856. France, England, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey appeared at it, and Russia was represented by Baron de Brünnow and Alexis Orlof. Peace was signed on the 30th of March on the following bases:—1. Russia renounced her exclusive right of protection over the Danubian Principalities, and all interference with their internal affairs. 2. The free navigation of the Danube was to be effectually secured by the establishment of a commission, in which all the contracting parties should be represented. Each of them should have the right to station two sloops of war at the mouth of the river. Russia consented to a rectification of frontiers which should leave Turkey and the Roumanian Principalities all the Danubian delta. 3. The Black Sea was made neutral ground: its waters, open to merchant ships of all nations, were forbidden to men of war, whether of the Powers on the coasts or of any others. No military or maritime arsenals were to be created there. Turkey and Russia could only maintain ten light ships to watch the coasts. 4. The *hatti-cherif* by which the Sultan Abdul-Medjid renewed the privileges of his non-Mussulman subjects was inserted in the treaty, but with the clause that the Powers could not quote this insertion as authorizing them to interfere between the Sultan and his subjects.

By the Treaty of Paris Russia lost both the domination of the Black Sea and the protectorate of the Eastern Christians, thus annihilating the fruits of the policy of Peter I., Anne, Catherine II., and Alexander I. Thus were condemned to ruin the fleets and naval arsenals created by Potemkin, the Duke de Richelieu, the Marquis de Traversay, and Admiral Lazaréf; thus the fortresses of Sebastopol, Kinburn, and Yenikalè were deserted. The treaties of Kaïrnadji, Bucharest, and Adrianople were deprived of all the hopes of conquest and dominion to which they had given rise. The imprudent policy of Nicholas had compromised the work of two centuries of successful efforts.

Russia also took part in the Convention of 1858, which organized Wallachia and Moldavia, and in that of 1859, which allowed them to become one State, namely, Roumania, a precious relic of the great Roman colony founded by Trajan on the Lower Danube.

2. *Disorders and Insurrections in the Tributary Provinces.*

In June, 1858, an outburst of fanatical fury amongst the Mahommedan population of Jeddah, on the east shore of the Red Sea, having cost the lives of a great number of Christians, the British and French Governments lost no time in exacting ample reparation for the outrage. They called upon the Sultan to issue orders for the punishment of the guilty, and a special commission was sent by the Turkish Government with troops to Jeddah to see that the order was carried into full effect.

Frightful atrocities were committed in Syria in 1860, where a vast number of the Maronite Christians were massacred by the Druses. The animosity between these religionists was bitter and of long standing, nor is it easy to determine with whom the blame rests of giving the first provocation which led to the deplorable catastrophe.

A revolution in Moldavia and Wallachia (1864) having

brought about the abdication of Prince Couza, the Chambers met, and their first act was to proclaim as Prince of Roumania the Count of Flanders, the brother of the King of the Belgians, but he declined to accept the proffered throne. They then turned to Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a cousin of the King of Prussia, and the question of his election as Hospodar was submitted to the votes of the population. The result of this appeal to the people was that he was chosen Hospodar, and the election was afterwards recognized by the Porte as well as by the other European Powers.

The Viceroy of Egypt having made a visit to Europe in 1869, was received at the different Courts with something of the respect and state usually reserved for crowned heads. This gave offence to the Sultan and Turkish Government, for in reality the Viceroy is only a satrap of the Ottoman Porte, enjoying the peculiar title of Khedive, which, whatever may be its precise import in Turkey, does not invest its possessor with a royal character. The Sultan was also offended at the invitations issued to foreign monarchs to be present at the forthcoming opening of the Suez Canal, which his Majesty thought was an infringement on his imperial prerogative. He was also alarmed at other tokens of independence on the part of the Egyptian Viceroy; and in consequence a letter was addressed by the Turkish Minister to the Viceroy, which contained a statement of the grievances alleged against him, and which he answered in a long despatch. Ultimately, through diplomatic interference, the matter was settled by the acceptance, on the part of the Viceroy, of the conditions insisted on by the Porte.

In 1871, in connection with the Black Sea Treaty, a certain change in the spirit of Turkish policy was observable. In the semi-official organ, the *Turquie* of Constantinople, it was said that Turkey had made friends with her traditional enemy Russia, though she had done this "far more because she fears a conflict in which she would be without effective allies, than because she trusts in the friendly intentions of the Russian Government." It was

added, that the same conviction of the impossibility of maintaining herself unaided in Europe had prompted her to take up "the idea of Islamite unity, and of the restoration of the old Khalifate in Asia and Africa."

The death of the Grand Vizier, Ali Pacha, in the summer (1871), was followed by a period of ministerial confusion. Mahmoud Pacha became Grand Vizier, but Ahmed Vefik Effendi attained to the highest place in the Sultan's confidence.

In the month of July, 1872, the Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Pacha, fell into disgrace, and was made to resign office in favour of Midhat Pacha, Governor of Bagdad. Midhat represented Austrian influence. But Midhat's sway was short. It was said that he would not, like his predecessor, lay the savings of the State treasury at the Sultan's disposal. Rudschi Pacha was appointed Grand Vizier in his place. The true key of Turkish politics this year seems to be discoverable in two motives: the Sultan's wish to alter the succession, and the influence which the Russian ambassador, General Ignatieff, had succeeded in establishing over his councils. With regard to the succession, the Sultan's eager desire was to get his own eldest son, Youssouf Izeddin, declared his heir, in conformity with the usual European system, instead of Murad Effendi, the eldest son of his brother, the late Sultan Abdul Medjid, who, having been born under his father's reign, had, according to Turkish law, a prior claim to a cousin born before his father had ascended the throne. The policy of Russia was to favour the Sultan's wishes in this respect, through the ministry of those Grand Viziers with whom General Ignatieff had established an *entente cordiale*.

In Turkey some ministerial changes occurred in 1873, which are scarcely worth recording. A dispute with Austria on the subject of the Bosnian Christians threatened at one time serious complications, but a mutual understanding was arrived at by both parties, and Europe was saved a revival of the ever-impending "Eastern Question."

3. *The attitude of Russia towards Turkey in* 1876–1877.

"Approach as near as possible to Constantinople and towards the Indies. He who reigns at Constantinople will be the real sovereign of the world, and, with that object in view, provoke continental wars with Turkey and with Persia; establish dockyards in the Black Sea; get possession of the shores of that Sea as well as those of the Baltic, those two things being necessary for the ultimate success of our project; hasten the decadency of Persia, penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf, re-establish the former trade of the Levant by appropriating Syria, and, if possible, extend the power of Russia to the Indies, which are the emporium of the world." So runs the fourteenth injunction contained in the so-called will of Peter the Great, a famous document described in the "Mémoirs sur la Chevalière d'Eon," as a "copy of the plan for compassing European supremacy, left by Peter the Great for his successors on the throne of Russia, and deposited in the archives of the Palace of Peterhoff, near St. Petersburg." It was Napoleon I., when on the point of embarking on his Russian campaign, who first made public this instrument, which has been very generally denounced as a forgery of his own, and whose existence has been positively denied by the Emperor Alexander. However this may be, it forms, perhaps, no inappropriate introduction to the history of an eventful year (1877); one which must be ranked, unhappily, in a category too-well filled of late, and marked by the declaration and progress of a cruel and destructive war.

No intelligent observer of events had failed to watch with interest the attitude of the Continental Powers towards the great problem of 1876. As the year went on, however, all other subjects faded into insignificance compared with the questions springing out of the momentous conflict then being waged in the East of Europe. The Andrassy note, so famous in its time, was received in London 30th December, 1875; but it was not until a fortnight later that a qualified acceptance of it was given

in by the English Government. The decision of the Government was very generally approved, for nothing had then occurred to arouse party feelings, and to range Englishmen on the side of this or that State without regard to English interests. The formidable nature of the question that was opened up, and the dangers it involved for all who were in any way interested in Turkey, were properly borne in mind. Soon, however, it became evident that the Andrassy note, though accepted by the Porte as well as by England, was doomed to failure, and the attention of

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Europe was arrested by the meeting of the Emperors at Berlin. The Berlin memorandum was then concocted, and the assent of the three remaining Great Powers was demanded by telegraph. England, however, refused to submit to such dictation, and the Ministers of Russia and Germany found themselves checkmated.

The conduct of Russia set at defiance all rules of international law, and there is no other Power in the world which would have refrained for a whole year from openly resenting the outrageous and unblushing acts of war in

which Russia indulged against Turkish territory, whilst yet a Russian ambassador dwelt and intrigued at the Golden Horn. It is unnecessary to do more than to allude to the incidents of the Servian war, in which an attack was commenced upon Turkey by one of its own vassals, first at the instigation, and then with the open co-operation of Russia, followed by the utter discomfiture of the Servians and their more enterprising allies. Turkey, however, was forbidden to reap the natural fruits of victory, and though the road had been opened to Belgrade by the splendid valour of its troops, it was bidden to halt.

4. *Deposition and death of Abdul Aziz.—Accession of Abdul Hamid.—European Conference at Constantinople.*

The deposition and suicide of Abdul Aziz, the brief ten days' reign of Murad V., the instalment in the chair of the Prophet of Abdul Hamid, the murderous and too successful attack made upon the Sultan's chief Ministers—these and other incidents of an almost equally painful character conspired with civil insurrection and foreign war to render the year one of peculiar trial to Turkey. The Sublime Porte mustered large and not ill-equipped armies in Asia as in Europe; and on the sea it was thought that Turkey would prove more than a match for circular Russian iron-clads. A constitution, consisting of comprehensive clauses, the work of Midhat Pacha, the late Grand Vizier (whose sudden dismissal and exile quickly followed upon the breaking up of the Conference), was proclaimed for all the subjects of the Sultan; and the question practically at issue was, whether Europe should wait and see if that new and vaunted medicine would cure the political ills of Turkey, or whether Russia should be allowed to scout the promise of institutions she could not herself venture to grant, and compel Turkey to fight for its existence.

The scheme of reform agreed to by the diplomatists in the European Conference at Constantinople, including General Ignatieff and Lord Salisbury, when submitted to

the Sultan, was rejected on the plea that the new Constitution afforded a guarantee for the better government of Turkey, as it contained all kinds of representative machinery for the empire, for the provinces, for the commune, all at the same time.

On the reopening of Parliament in February, 1877, Lord Derby, in defending the ministerial policy of the British Cabinet, justified the rejection of the Berlin memorandum, on the ground that, if it had been accepted, England would have been bound to take part in a joint military occupation. As an alternative, therefore, the Conference was proposed, and although it did not do all that was desired, it gave at least time for consideration, enabling the Powers to ascertain what Russia sought, and what the Porte would be willing to concede.

At the opening of the year 1877, Turkey, therefore, was going through a crisis fraught with momentous consequences; for on its issues depended, probably, not only the question of peace or war between herself and Russia, but, it might be, the peace of Europe generally.

In one way Turkey was showing more than usual vitality. Many remarkable internal changes had rapidly followed each other. Two Sultans had successively been deposed from Sovereign power. Two Cabinet Ministers had been removed by assassination. Persecution and oppression of the Christian population of Bulgaria, of the most flagrant kind, had roused Europe to indignant remonstrance; and in answer to demands, a Constitution of a very democratic nature had been proclaimed—a Constitution which was to remedy all abuses, and to inaugurate an era of justice and equality for all the races and creeds of the Ottoman Empire.

The political physicians of Europe were sitting in consultation upon the evils of her administration—the diseases of her body politic—which threatened it with dissolution; but she proved the most intractable of patients; absolutely refusing the remedies proposed to her, and boasting of the excellence of her Constitution, which, if allowed fair play, would of itself expel all diseases, and she promised to

leave off those pernicious ways which had brought her to the brink of ruin.

The policy of the European delegates, the representatives of the six Powers—Russia, Germany, France, England, Austria, and Italy—at the Conference of 1877, had become one of concession and modification, until, indeed, it was thought in some quarters that their proposals were finally reduced to but a worthless shadow of their original demands; but the Turkish Ministers still hesitated to accept them. Their policy continued to be a policy of evasion and procrastination. It was chiefly the bureaucratic oligarchy, the pachas, menaced in their exclusive enjoyment of the highest State offices, who stood in the way of reform.

On the 4th January the Turkish Ministers explained their objections to the proposals of the foreign delegates. At the sitting of the Conference, on 15th January, the European Plenipotentiaries, giving up seven points out of nine, had reduced their proposals to two points, viz., an International Commission nominated by the Powers, without executive powers, and the appointment of Valis (Governor General) for five years by the Sultan, with the approval of the Guaranteeing Powers.

The objects of the Conference had been to avert, if possible, the calamity of war, to render friendly advice to Turkey, and to induce her to give some adequate guarantees for the better government of her Christian population.

Its failure was attributed to various causes and influences—Turkey's jealousy of foreign interference—infatuation—a knowledge of the unpreparedness of Russia—a desire to wage war single-handed against her hereditary foe; the conciliatory and yielding attitude of General Ignatieff; the lowered demands of the European Powers, and the persuasion that of these Powers Russia alone would attempt coercive measures, and even that might be viewed as doubtful. A correspondent of the *Times* declared it to be a fact that "from the outset the Turks were intoxicated at the idea of a trial of strength

with Russia;" and he adds, "One of their most thoughtful statesmen said to me not long ago, 'All we ask is to be left alone face to face with Russia.'"

5. *Fall and Banishment of the Grand Vizier Midhat Pacha.*

Within some fifteen days after the last sitting of the Conference, an event occurred which proved how little constitutional principles were understood or acted on by the Sultan or his advisers. This was nothing less than the sudden fall and banishment of the liberal Grand Vizier Midhat Pacha, who was at the very time supposed to be the ruling spirit, as he was the master mind, in the council and in the closet, in foreign affairs no less than in domestic policy. This political catastrophe came like a thunder-clap upon Europe.

General Ignatieff's mission, according to Russian statements, had for its object "to furnish explanations as to the real views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and to facilitate a peaceful solution;" and after Europe had been kept in suspense for some two months, pending the exchange of ideas between the respective Cabinets, a joint protocol, on Turkish affairs, was agreed upon and signed, (31st March), by the six Powers.

Turkey contended that the Protocol of the European Powers was derogatory to her dignity and independence —a virtual abrogation of Article IX. of the Treaty of Paris —and rather than acknowledge it as binding upon her, she preferred to face the alternative of war.

Russia, on the other hand, held a lofty view of her mission as the protector of the Sclavonic race. The normal government of the Sclavonic provinces of Turkey was believed to be one of injustice and oppression, varied by the grossest spoliation and outrage, which had recently culminated in the far-famed "Bulgarian atrocities," and these had roused the passions of that large proportion of the population of Russia which was identical in blood and

allied in sympathy with the suffering people of the adjoining provinces; while the pressure it exercised upon the counsels of Russia at this time was supposed to be great, if not irresistible.

Russia believed that the only remedy for the oppressed States or provinces was autonomy under foreign protection, and so one thing at least became evident—that when Russia and Turkey, the two principals in the quarrel, took such widely divergent and even antagonistic views, there could be little hope that the peace of Europe would be preserved, and Europe looked forward with foreboding; nor were its fears unfounded, for, with the next turn of the political kaleidoscope, all the subtleties of protocols and diplomacy vanished, and gave place to the unmistakable language—short, stern, and to the point—of war proclamations and addresses.

6. *Russia declares War against the Porte.*

Russia had long been making preparations behind the scenes. A large army had been massed in Bessarabia, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish frontier, and on April 24, without any ultimatum to Turkey, beyond the Protocol of March 31, an Imperial Manifesto appeared declaring war against the Porte. In this the Czar, addressing his "well-beloved subjects," reminded them that his whole reign attested his solicitude to preserve for Russia the blessings of peace. He told them that by pacific negotiation he had sought, in concert with the great European Powers, to ameliorate the condition of the Christians in the East. But that his efforts having been of no avail—the Porte finally refusing to defer to the will of Europe as set forth in the joint Protocol—he was obliged "to proceed to more decisive acts;" he, that day, April 12 (24), "ordered his brave armies to cross the frontier."

In justification of this step, the Russian Cabinet addressed to its ambassadors at foreign Courts a Circular

Note, in which Prince Gortschakoff gave expression to its views rgarding Turkey's refusal to acknowledge the joint Protocol of March 31, and the consequences of that refusal.

The Turkish Government immediately submitted to the European Powers an energetic protest against what she termed Russia's violation of international law. Lord Derby answered Russia in an outspoken despatch on May 1, and expressed to the Russian Cabinet the "deep regret" of the British Government at the independent and, as he contended, the unwarrantable course that Russia, leaving the European concert, had suddenly adopted. The other Powers did not reply to her note.

In her Circular Note, Russia claimed to be the representative of the interests of Europe; but Lord Derby reminded her that by the Protocol of March 31 Europe willed that Turkey should be allowed time to carry out her promised reforms—that Turkey, in refusing her consent to that Protocol, had nevertheless reiterated her good intentions, and that Russia's isolated action was a distinct violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1871.

The Russians had a great advantage in possessing the province of Transcaucasia as a base of operations, and a position of great strength, being backed by the Caucasus and flanked by the Caspian and Euxine Seas.

At the opening of the campaign, the total strength of the Russian army of the Caucasus was stated to be about 150,000 men, of six divisions, commanded by the Grand Duke Michael Nicoljewich, assisted by divisional commanders.

The Turkish army on the frontier consisted, it was said, of 80,000 regular troops, 15,000 Circassians, 4,000 Kurds, and 25,000 militia—thus making a total of about 124,000 men. Of these 22,000 were stationed at Erzeroum, the head-quarters of the Turkish army, 28,000 at Kars, and 12,000 at Ardahan.

On April 24, the Russians crossed the frontier at three points, between Batoum and Bayazid, encountering the Turkish outposts, and advancing in three columns on Batoum, Kars, and Bayazid.

During the first few weeks of the campaign the salient events were a battle before Kars (April 29th and 30th), in which the Russians were victorious, a defeat of the Russians at Batoum, May 11th, the capture of Sukhum Kalé, a Russian military post near the Turkish frontier, and the taking of Ardahan by the Russians after a feeble resistance, with strong suspicions of corruption and treason on the part of the governor.

Batoum is the most important port on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. At five o'clock on the morning of May 4th a portion of the right wing of the Russian army attacked *in column* a Turkish force *strongly entrenched* on the heights above the town; and it is to these two facts—that the assault was made in column, upon a force armed with the breech-loader and posted behind trenches—that military critics attributed the disaster. "The Ottoman troops were entrenched in their usual effective manner upon the slopes and ledges of the heights, defending Batoum on the land side; and they opened upon the columns of the enemy a terrible and well-sustained fire of cannon and musketry, which literally mowed down the Russians in swathes. They fell by scores and hundreds on the plain below the Turkish positions, and during their attempts to make way against this fire, a body of Turkish horse and foot, taking advantage of the thick forest on the mountain side, broke forth upon the flank of the Russian column and effected a great slaughter."

By a bold dash at Sukhum Kalé, a Russian post and fortress at the foot of the Caucasus, and on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, the Turks, May 14th, carried war into the enemy's country and captured an important Russian military post, which might serve them as a base of operations, and enable them to arm the hill tribes, and organize an insurrection against Russia.

As a set off to this surprise, the Russians carried Ardahan by assault, May 17th. The Turkish garrison, reported to be 10,000 strong, fled without making any defence, their commander having previously beat a retreat. One hundred and twelve guns and other munitions of war,

as well as commissariat stores, fell into the hands of the Russians, who numbered 50,000 fighting men. The Turkish commander, Muktar Pacha, appeared to have defended a much too extended frontier for the forces at his disposal, and his strategy was severely criticised. Ardahan had been left with a weak garrison, and its fall broke the line of defence. Although the Russians blundered, and divided their forces at considerable risk, the Turks, not seizing the opportunity of striking a blow at the right time, were out-numbered and out-manœuvred; and a military critic, writing in the beginning of June, described their position in Asia Minor as "about as bad as it could be."

Leaving the Turks to concentrate their forces before Erzeroum, and the Russians to carry on their attack on Kars, where the fighting was resulting in favour of the Turks, we proceed to narrate the leading features of the campaign on the Danube.

7. *The Campaign on the Danube.*

The Pruth is the boundary between the Russian province of Bessarabia and the Danubian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, now forming the Sclav Principality of Roumania. At this time it was possessed of self-government, Charles of Hohenzollern being the reigning prince; but, like Servia, it, nominally at least, acknowledged the suzerainty of Turkey, and paid the usual tribute of a dependent state.

In crossing the frontier, then, into Roumania, on April 24th, and making it a base of operations, Russia of course committed an act of direct hostility to Turkey, and a result that was to be expected soon followed. On April 16th the Roumanian Chamber adopted a convention, by which the Russian troops were permitted free passage through the state, and friendly assistance was to be given them; Russia, on the other hand, agreeing to respect the rights of the Roumanians. In consequence of this, official relations ceased between the Porte and her vassal state,

which soon declared itself independent, and took an actively hostile part against Turkey.

The Russian army on the Danube consisted of nine army corps, and a total of 310,000 men, 55,806 horses, and 972 guns, "as near as possible," according to a military eye-witness. These forces were supplemented by the Roumanian army under Prince Charles, 72,000 strong, though only about 17,000 of these were regulars and properly equipped. The Grand Duke Nicholas, brother to the Emperor, was Commander-in-Chief of the European army of invasion. The actual strength of this army has never been satisfactorily ascertained; many of the corps were below their nominal strength, and it has been doubted whether 200,000 Russians were in Roumania at the time of the passage of the Danube. Mr. Archibald Forbes was of opinion that there were not 170,000 Russians in that country at the end of June.

The Turkish army, on the other side of the Danube, numbered about 247,000 men; but they were scattered, mostly in fortified towns, over a frontier of 500 miles by a depth of 150 miles.

The rival forces, however, were separated by a river varying in width, in this part of it, from 760 yards to 2,180 yards. To cross this river, with all supplies, and in the face of the enemy, was now the problem that the Russian generals had to consider, and it was one of enormous difficulty. This, too, was increased by the nature of the ground, which is low and swampy on the north side, while on the opposite shore it is high; thus giving every advantage to its defenders, except in the pestilential delta of the Danube, known as the Dobrudscha.

Meanwhile, Russian batteries and Turkish gunboats engaged in a duel, much to the detriment of the latter. The first encounter of the kind resulted in the destruction of a Turkish monitor by the Russian batteries at Braila. A shot from an 8-inch gun found its way into the powder magazine, and the terrific explosion that followed left nothing visible of the ship but her stern, mizen-mast, and a mass of blackened fragments. Of her crew of 200 men

only one finally survived to tell the tale. A more daring feat was the blowing up of another Turkish monitor, the *Dar-Matoin*, by means of torpedoes. Choosing a dark and rainy night, the attacking expedition, consisting of two steam-launches, each carrying two torpedoes, and commanded by Lieutenants Dubasoff and Shestakoff, ran out to the enemy's flotilla, and then Dubasoff's launch shot under the bow of the monitor. A torpedo was dropped and carried against the bottom of the doomed ship. This done the boat sped away the length of the wire attached to the torpedo, which was then fired off by means of an electric battery. After the explosion the ship was seen slowly sinking. It was now Shestakoff's turn. His boat repeated the operation. A still more terrible explosion followed; the vessel sank rapidly, and in a few minutes only her masts were seen above water.

Floods greater than had been known in Roumania for years inundated the northern bank of the middle and lower Danube, and for a long time rendered the passage of the river by an invading army impossible; but at last, after two months of preparation and delay, the Russians accomplished the passage of the river by a *coup de main*, carried out with consummate skill (June 21st, 30th, &c.).

The crossing was made successfully at four different points—Galatz, Braïla, and Hirsova—into the Dobrudscha, and from Simnitza to Sistova without serious opposition. Abdul Kerim, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief on the Danube, reported that 60,000 Russians had crossed the Danube up to the morning of July 1st. The full tide of Muscovite invasion was now flowing into Bulgaria, and the Turks had made but a feeble attempt to stem the torrent. Abdul Kerim maintained a masterly inactivity. He permitted 120,000 Russian soldiers to pass quietly over to the Bulgarian side of the Danube; while, with the indifference of fatalism, he sat calmly in his tent maturing "a plan," which he assured the Sultan "would ensure the total defeat of the enemy, not one of whom would ever return to his own country."

On entering Bulgaria with his army the Czar addressed

a proclamation to its people, in which he assured the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula in general, and the Bulgarians in particular, of his solicitation for the amelioration of their lot. To the Bulgarians his army would secure "the sacred rights of their nationality." "All races and all denominations" would be equally treated and order would be enforced. To the Mussulmans he said, "your existence and your property, the lives and honour of your families will be sacred upon us Christians; but regular and impartial justice will overtake those criminals who have remained unpunished despite the fact that their names are well known to the Government." The future of a Russianised Bulgaria is also shadowed forth. "As fast as the Russian troops advance into the interior of the country, the power of the Turk will be replaced by regular organization, the native inhabitants will be summoned to take part therein under the supreme direction of special authorities." "Obey the Russian authorities; follow faithfully the indications they will give you: therein lie your strength and your safety."

Other successes quickly followed the passage of the Danube by the Russian army. Tirnova was captured, from which a garrison of Turkish infantry fled in disgraceful confusion; Nicopolis was carried by assault, the Balkans were passed by General Gourko with a flying column. It seemed as if the campaign was virtually over, and that the victorious army had but to make a military promenade to Constantinople.

The capture of Tirnova was the second notable event of the campaign. On July 7th General Gourko took possession of this town—the capital of the ancient Bulgarian Kingdom—with a squadron of the guards and 200 Cossacks; a superior force of Turkish infantry, "holding almost impregnable mountain positions," retreating before this small body of Russian cavalry. Tirnova is forty miles from Sistova on the Danube and thirty from the entrance to the Balkans. Being unfortified it was of no strategical value, except as a base of operations for crossing the Balkans. It now became the Russian headquarters,

and Prince Tscherkassi was duly installed as the head of the new civil administration of Bulgaria.

A more important success, in a military and strategical point of view, was the taking of Nicopol or Nicopolis, a fortified town on the Danube, which was carried by assault on July 16th, after severe fighting, by Russian troops belonging to the 9th corps, and commanded by General Krüdener. Six thousand Turkish soldiers, with guns and munitions of war, fell to the victors, who were superior in numbers. The possession of Nicopol gave the Russians command of a considerable stretch of river, and secured their communications between Simnitza and Sistova.

But the most striking achievement of the Russians at this time was the expedition of General Gourko, who, starting from Tirnova, on July 12th, led a flying detachment, composed of all arms, across the Balkans (on the 14th instant), by way of the Hain Bogaz, or Hainkoi Pass, into Roumelia, as far as Yeni-Sagra, almost without opposition.

It was a bold exploit; but it was much criticised by military experts, one of whom affirmed that had a General attempted it in the face of French or German troops, his reward would have been "not a decoration but a court martial."

At the commencement of the war, the Russian army in Asia, after driving in the Turkish outposts, captured some of the principal fortified positions, invested Kars, and seemed likely to reach Erzeroum without any serious reverse.

But as time went on, the campaign in Armenia suddenly collapsed. Muktar Pacha, the Turkish Commander-in-chief, in Asia, relieved and revictualled Kars, which the Russians were fain to abandon till more favourable times. In August the army of invasion met with a series of defeats, of which the battle of Kizil-Tipe was an example, and at length the Grand Duke Michael refused any longer to carry out General Melikoff's strategy.

In Europe, too, the Russian advance was not to be a mere military promenade. With the Danube passed,

Tirnova the centre of Russian administration, Nicopolis taken, the second great barrier to the heart of Turkey penetrated, it seemed, at the time indeed, as if the tide of success would carry the invaders triumphantly forward to the goal of their hopes—Adrianople or Constantinople; but, as in Asia, reverses came that changed for a time the whole aspect of the campaign. Plevna and the Shipka Pass became names of ominous import to the soldiers of the Czar.

No long time elapsed before the Russian Generals were reminded of the danger of despising an enemy. The easy success of the early campaign ended with the capture of Nicopolis by General Krüdener on the first assault. The possession of the fortress was valuable, as it secured an additional passage over the Danube; but as the result showed, it would have been prudent first to occupy the town of Plevna, twenty miles south of the Danube, and the neighbouring heights. While the garrison of Nicopolis was engaged in a feeble defence, Osman Pacha, marching to the relief of the place, saw the importance of the position which the Russians had overlooked, and, occupying Plevna with 36 battalions and 44 guns, he at once began the construction of defences which afterwards grew to the dimensions of a great fortress. Soon after his earthworks were begun, the Russians became aware, too late, of the value of the position, and orders were issued that it should be occupied. Accordingly, on July 20th a brigade of infantry was sent from Nicopolis upon this service, under the command of General Schildner-Schuldner, which, however, instead of taking the town fell into a trap, and was well nigh cut to pieces. But a worse defeat was to follow, and that through what has been called the "insensate blunder" of attacking an enemy armed with breech-loaders and in a strongly intrenched position with superior forces.

About the same time, under the pressure of popular indignation, the Turkish Government dismissed Abdul Kerim and his treacherous or incapable patron Riza Pacha, Minister of War. Mehemet Ali, a renegade of North German birth, was appointed to command the Eastern

army on the Danube, but Osman Pacha at Plevna, and Suleiman Pacha, who was now transferred from Montenegro to Roumelia, were independent of any commander-in-chief. The division of authority, which was probably suggested by the jealousies of the Government at Constantinople, produced its natural result in want of concert and in failure of reciprocal support; but since the dismissal of Abdul Kerim the conduct of the war did not display any want of vigour. The simple commissariat which suffices for Turkish armies was well provided. There was no deficiency in guns, small arms or ammunition; the Turkish engineers showed extraordinary skill in the construction of earthworks, and the soldiers retained all their traditional valour.

In spite of the well-founded remonstrances of General Krüdener, the Grand Duke Michael and his staff positively ordered a renewal of the assault on Plevna, which had now been provided with strong fortifications.

The second battle of Plevna was fought on the last day of July. The Turkish forces were estimated at from 50,000 to 70,000. "They occupied a series of positions in horse-shoe shape in front of Plevna, with both flanks resting on the river Vid, behind the town. The defensive strength of the ground they occupied, naturally great, was increased by earthworks, redoubts, and shelter trenches in every available spot. The assailing force consisted of the 9th Russian Army Corps, under Baron Krüdener, and the 30th Division and the thirtieth brigade of the 2nd Division, under Prince Schackosky, with three brigades of cavalry and 160 guns. The result of the terrible conflict was that the Russians were completely defeated, with a loss of some 8,000 killed and as many wounded. General Krüdener was unjustly blamed for this great disaster to the Russian arms. The Russian Commander-in-Chief ordered the attack, and General Krüdener protested against it; but when the command was repeated, in the most peremptory terms, he had no choice but to obey.

South of the Balkans the forces of the Czar met with the same ill-fortune. Suleiman Pacha having defeated

General Gourko's force at Eski-Sagrà (February 15th), and driven the Russians back to the mountains, assailed the Russian fortified positions in the Shipka Pass, and then followed a series of sanguinary conflicts to which the war had hitherto furnished no parallel. The Russian garrison consisted only of the Bulgarian Legion and a regiment of the 9th Division—in all about 3,000 men, with forty cannon. Through this pass was the road to Gabrova and Tirnova, from which all supplies and reinforcements must arrive, and by which a retreat to Tirnova must be conducted. The attack began on Tuesday, August 21. Spite of some reinforcements, on Thursday the two Russian generals, Stoletoff and Derotchinski, expected momentarily to be surrounded. "It was six o'clock," said the able correspondent of the *Daily News;* "there was a lull in the fighting, of which the Russians could take no advantage, since the reserves were all engaged. The grimed, sun-blistered men were beaten out with heat, fatigue, hunger, and thirst. There had been no cooking for three days, and there was no water within the Russian lines. The poor fellows lay panting on the bare ridge, reckless that it was swept by the Turkish rifle fire. Others doggedly fought on down among the rocks, forced to give ground, but grimly and sourly. The cliffs and valleys sent back the triumphant Turkish shouts of 'Allah il Allah!' The two Russian generals were on the peak which the first position half encloses. With their glasses they anxiously scanned the glimpses of the steep brown road leading up from the Jantra valley, through thick copses of sombre green and dark rocks. Stoletoff cries aloud in sudden excitement, clutches his brother general by the arm, and points down the pass. The head of a long black column was plainly visible against the reddish-brown bed of the road. 'Now, God be thanked!' says Stoletoff, solemnly. Both generals bare their heads. The troops spring to their feet. Such a gust of Russian cheers whirls and eddies among the mountain tops that the Turkish war-cries are wholly drowned in the glad welcome which the Russian soldiers

send to the comrades coming to help them. It is a battalion of the Rifle Brigade—the same Rifle Brigade which followed General Gourko in his victorious advance and chequered retreat. This brigade has marched fifteen kilometres without cooking or sleeping, and now is in action without so much as a breathing halt. Such is the stuff of which thorough good soldiers are made. Their General, the gallant Trywitinsky, accompanies them, and pushes on an attack on the enemy's position on that wooded ridge on the Russian right. But Radetzky, who himself brought up the tirailleurs, and so saved the day, marches on up the road with his staff at his back, runs the triple gauntlet of the Turkish rifle-fire, and joins the two generals on the peak, hard by the batteries of the first position. As senior and highest officer present, he at once took command, complimenting General Stoletoff, whom he relieved, on the excellence of his dispositions and stubborn defence."

The Turks claimed a victory on the Lom; but this was followed by a Russian success of much importance—the capture of Loftcha (Sept. 3rd) by Prince Meretinsky, supported by the young and brilliant General Skobeleff, who was the hero of the day.

The Turks made a desperate defence behind their redoubts, and in their rifle pits, and for twelve hours the conflict raged with great loss on each side. The assault was sudden—a surprise. It was brilliantly carried out and as gallantly met; but numbers in the end prevailed, and the Russians attained their object in the possession of the place. Plevna and the Shipka Pass were still, however, the chief centres of action and interest.

Prince Charles of Roumania had been appointed Commander of the Russo-Roumanian army, and just about a month after the second battle of Plevna, July 31st, and three days before the Russian capture of Loftcha, Osman Pacha, with 25,000 men, made a determined and well-sustained, but unsuccessful, attack against the Russian left centre, which held a strongly fortified position around the villages of Pelisat and Zgalince, and in this perfectly use-

less sortie, after losing 3,000 men, he was defeated and driven back by General Zotoff. This was a blunder by a Turkish general; but the commanders on either side seemed to vie with each other in sacrificing brave men to their own recklessness and incapacity. The successful dash at Loftcha was followed by a series of desperate assaults by the Russian and Roumanian forces, on the fortified positions of Osman Pacha at Plevna, in which brute force was substituted for skill, and "a holocaust of mangled humanity was offered up," said a writer in the *Times* (though such criticisms must be received with caution), "to the inefficient helplessness of the General Staff Departments of the Russian army." The conflict began on September 11th; General Skobeleff, the hero of Nicopolis, captured three redoubts, but with heavy loss, and they were retaken the next day; the Gravitza redoubts only remaining in possession of the Russians and Roumanians. And so the mutual slaughter went on, day after day, till the Russian losses before Plevna amounted to more than 12,000 men, and the Roumanians to 3,000; or, according to some estimates, to a total of 16,000 men.

In the Shipka Pass Suleiman Pacha had lost more than 12,000 of his best men by dashing them against the Russian fortifications (which, it was declared by military critics, might have been turned), when, on Sept. 17th, he renewed his assaults on Mont St. Nicholas, only to see his troops hurled back with heavy loss. In this action General Radetzky lost 500 men and 19 officers, and an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, Prince Mestchensky.

On the Lom the battles of Karahassankoi and Kazelero put the Turks in undisputed possession of the whole course of that river, and the Russian line of defence was forced back to the Jantra.

Having received large reinforcements, and having not taken warning by repeated experience, the Russian Staff determined once more to attack Plevna. The 11th of September, the Emperor's birthday, was fixed as the date of their anticipated triumph, and repeated assaults were directed against the formidable defences. On the left of

the attack General Skobeleff, a young and brilliant officer, took three redoubts, with the sacrifice of a large part of the force under his command. On the right the large redoubt of Gravitza was taken late in the evening by surprise, after the Emperor had left the field, in the belief that the assault had failed. The redoubts occupied by Skobeleff were retaken on the following day. Gravitza remained in the possession of the Russians and Roumanians; but the work was commanded by Turkish redoubts in the rear; and the result of the great battle of the 11th was a conviction that direct assaults on the fortified camp were wholly useless. In consequence of this defeat, the Imperial Guard were summoned to the seat of war, and General Todleben, who appears previously not to have enjoyed Court favour, was invited to undertake the reduction of Plevna. The famous engineer at once began regular approaches, as if for the purpose of besieging Osman Pacha in form; but the object of his works was probably to divert the attention of the garrison while preparations were made for a complete investment. Before the last attack on Plevna the Russians had taken Lovatz in the south-east, and they only waited for their expected reinforcements to cut the Turkish communications.

So month after month this, for the most part, indecisive conflict had gone on—the Russian soldier, obedient, patient, brave and stolid, facing unflinchingly the pitiless storm that poured on him from bastion and redoubt, standing up to be shot in pathetic submission to impossible orders—the fiery Turk, in a frenzy of fanaticism and despair, fighting heroically against overwhelming numbers—when, suddenly, Europe was startled by the news of a great and decisive Russian victory.

On October 14th and 15th the Turks lost at one blow all the fruits of a long and brilliant series of victories in Armenia. On Sunday, the 14th, General Lazaroff outflanked the right of the Turkish army, under Mukhtar Pacha, and the next day the Grand Duke Michael attacked the centre of the Turkish position with overwhelming force, while General Lazaroff assaulted the rear. By

9 P.M., 26 battalions with seven pachas had surrendered, with 36 guns. The Turkish stronghold on Mount Acolias was taken, and the army cut in two. The right wing was compelled to lay down its arms; while Mukhtar Pacha with the left wing retreated to Kars. The spoil was great, including thousands of tents and standards, and immense quantities of ammunition.

The remnant of Mukhtar's army, reinforced by Ismail Pacha's troops (mainly irregulars), took up a strong position at Kupri Koi, before Erzeroum, from which it was driven "in wild confusion" on Sunday, Nov. 4th; the Turkish commander retreating towards Trebizonde.

The Turkish defence in Asia had thus, in its turn, almost entirely collapsed, and the fall of Kars and Erzeroum was alone wanting to complete the Russian conquest of Armenia. This could now be only a question of time, and on November 18th the famous fortress of Kars was taken by assault, but not, it was suspected, without the aid of treachery. It began under the direction of General Melikoff, at 8 P.M., November 18th, when one of the greatest and most difficult of military feats was accomplished. The Turks lost 5,000 in killed and wounded. The city fortress, 300 cannon, 10,000 prisoners, and spoils of various kinds fell to the 13,000 Russians, "who with irresistible courage climbed the steep rocks, the ramparts and walls, and drove an equal number of desperately fighting Turks in a headlong flight over their ditches and parapets, compelling them to die or surrender."

In Europe, the armies of the Czarewitch and Suleiman Pacha, on either side of the Lom, had done little more than reconnoitre each other. General Todleben carried on the investment of Plevna, where Osman Pacha and his 50,000 men still defied the Muscovite hosts. In November the Roumanians were guarding the northern section of the circle of investment of probably not less than forty miles, while the Russians completed it on the east, south and west.

The Russian successes on the Vid (October 24th, November 1st, &c.) closed the western road to Plevna to all succour

coming from that quarter. The victory of Dolmy Dubnik, on October 24th, was dearly bought by the Russians, who lost in that action 2,500 men, and 100 officers. About 7,000 Turks were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. At Telis the Russians took a Turkish entrenched position with 4,000 or 5,000 men, and by the capture of Provitz and Etropol (November 23rd and 24th) they forced Mehemet Ali to retreat from Orkhanie to Kamarli, where, however, the Russians were defeated December 3rd.

Indeed, the Turkish defence in Europe did not seem likely to suffer that collapse which had overtaken it in Asia. The important victory of Elena, to say nothing of minor successes, and the retirement of the Russians before Suleiman Pacha, who now threatened Tirnova, appeared to indicate a more favourable phase of Turkish resistance to the Muscovite invaders.

This revival, however, of Turkish activity can only be compared to the waking up and restlessness that so often immediately precedes utter exhaustion and dissolution in the case of the dying man; for the greatest disaster that had yet befallen the Turkish defence in Europe happened to it on December 9th, in the fall of Plevna and the unconditional surrender of Osman Pacha and his army.

In the early part of the campaign in Europe we have seen that the Russians executed some daring movements in contempt of the enemy, whose feeble defence only seemed to give the invaders' easily won successes the appearance of victories; yet they failed to occupy the almost unknown town of Plevna. The skill of Osman Pacha's engineers, and the oversight of the Russian generals, cost the Czar fully 50,000 men in killed and wounded, and a serious delay. For nearly five months—till December 9th—it defied his armies, and upon three occasions July 20th and 31st and September 11th, hurled them back from its positions and redoubts with great slaughter. This last assault had been ordered on September 11th, to celebrate the Emperor's birthday, and accordingly a stage was erected, from which he might witness the triumph of his arms. The result, which was so disastrous and so

entirely different from what was anticipated, has been already briefly related.

8. *Fall of Plevna and surrender of Osman Pacha.*

At length it became apparent to the Russian generals that in direct assaults they only threw away their men and invited defeat. Skill and caution must be substituted

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for rash helter-skelter bravery; escalades and forlorn hopes must be exchanged for patient waiting and watching; so the reduction of the place by the surer method of scientific investment was determined on by General Todleben, the able engineer officer, already famous for his defence of Sebastopol. Osman Pacha received his last supplies from Sofia by way of Orkhanie early in November, and by the middle of that month an iron coil

was thrown round Plevna—it was completely invested. All supplies were thus cut off, Osman Pacha was, like Bazaine at Metz, entirely shut in by the hostile forces. General Gourko and his cavalry blockaded the Sofia road, and, unless relieved by a Turkish army sufficiently strong to break through the investing force, the fall of Plevna and surrender of Osman Pacha and his men could only be a question of time. No relief came. Food and ammunition were well nigh exhausted, and there appeared to be no alternative to Osman Pacha but unconditional surrender, or the hazardous, if not impossible, enterprise of cutting his way through the hostile army. A council of war was held. Osman stated his case, and it was resolved to make a desperate effort to break through the Russian lines in the only possible place, across the Vid, north of the Sofia road; and, on the night of December 9th, he issued from Plevna with a force of 32,000 men, 26,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. "At two o'clock this army commenced crossing the Vid by five bridges, the permanent stone one and four temporary ones. The temporary bridges were placed one just up stream to the south of the stone bridge, the other three dividing the distance between the stone bridge and a line drawn from Opanesk fort straight to the river. As the regiments crossed the Vid they deployed into line, and they did this in so orderly a manner that the Cossack videttes, who were but 300 yards away, were not aware of their vicinity till the skirmishers of the Turks advanced to within 100 yards of them. The Cossacks then retired firing. At this time the position of the Turkish forces was as follows:—1st, a line of skirmishers; 2nd, a line of battalions in line; 3rd, three guns in rear of right of line of infantry; three ditto centre ditto; three ditto left ditto. These guns were not used till after passing the first Russian line. The Turks depended on one gun in the small bastion below Opanesk redoubt, five on the south slope of the Opanesk redoubt, these constituting the right of the Turkish attack; eleven guns in two batteries on the high ground on the Plevna side of the permanent

bridge, these constituting the left of the Turkish attack. The positions of the Turkish generals were as follows: Commencing from the rear of the army, one pacha was on the high ground above the bridge, with the eleven guns mentioned; one on the right, with the six guns on the slope of Opanesk; two in the plain below superintending the crossing. On the right of the attacking line was one pacha; in the centre, one; on the left were two and Osman Pacha. As the attacking line advanced, carts containing ammunition and necessary baggage crossed the permanent bridge, and with them numbers of carts belonging to the inhabitants of Plevna, and containing their wives, children, and household goods, in all to the number of 4,000, pressed forward, and crossed as fast as possible. These latter Osman Pacha was powerless to prevent crossing, for as soon as his troops were withdrawn from Plevna they insisted on following. At daybreak, a little before eight, the fighting began. The bridge was swept by the Russian artillery, killing men, women and children, horses and oxen. At nine, No. 2 bridge, counting the bridge below Opanesk as No. 1, was broken by the Roumanian battery of five guns, situated to the right of the Turkish attack. The Turks steadily advanced, and carried the first Russian lines. Again they advanced, and carried two batteries of six guns each in the second line. For two hours the fight raged between the second and third line of Russians in favour of neither side. At this critical time the Turkish shells ran short; this enabled the Roumanians to turn their left flank, to get possession of Opanesk, and the hard-fought day was decided against the Turks. Osman Pacha was wounded in the leg, the same bullet killing his horse, a present from the Sultan. Ten thousand Turks had not crossed the Vid when they laid down their arms. Osman Pacha had no choice but to submit. The conditions of capitulation were quickly settled, and they included nothing less than the complete surrender of the town and its entrenchments, Osman Pacha, his army and its arms, 10 pachas, 2,128 officers, and 97 guns.

Had Osman Pacha's sortie been a complete surprise to the Russians it is possible that Osman and a portion of his army might have effected their retreat. Turkish deserters, or Russian spies, however, kept the besiegers more or less informed of what was going on in the Turkish counsels. On the night of the 7th the Russians knew of the intended sortie. All their posts were accordingly strengthened, and on the night of December 9th spies brought word that Osman was "concentrating near the bridge on the Vid."

"At last," says an eye-witness, "it was certain that the Turks were moving, and that the final decisive moment had come. Skobeleff ordered the captured positions to be instantly placed in a state of defence, in case the Turks, repulsed and not yet ready to surrender, should attempt to recapture them. The grey light of morning came. It was cloudy, and threatened more snow. Suddenly there was the booming of thirty or forty guns, speaking almost together, followed instantly by that steady, crashing roll we have learned to know so well. The battle had begun. We mounted our horses and rode towards the battle. It was in the direction of the bridge over the Vid, on the Sofia road, and half an hour's ride brought us in sight of the conflict.

"A terrible and sublime spectacle presented itself to our view. The country behind Plevna is a wide, open plain, into which the gorge leading up to Plevna opens out like a tunnel. The plain is bounded on the Plevna side by steep, rocky bluffs, or cliffs, along which flows the Vid. From these cliffs, for a distance of two miles, burst here and there, in quick, irregular succession, angry spurts of flame, that flashed and disappeared and flashed out again. It was the artillery fire of the Turks and Russians, which from one point of view appeared intermingled. The smoke, running round in a circle towards the Vid, rose against the heavy clouds that hung right up on the horizon, while low on the ground burst forth continuous balls of flame that rent the blackness of the clouds like flashes of lightning. Through the covering of smoke could be seen angry spits of fire thick as fire-flies on a

tropical night. Now and then, through an irregular curving stream of fire, we had indistinct glimpses of bodies of men hurrying to and fro, horses, cattle, carriages running across the plain, and above all the infernal crashing roll of the infantry fire, and the deep booming of more than a hundred guns. This is what had happened."

Osman Pacha had during the night abandoned all his positions from Gravitca to the Green Hill, and concentrated the greater part of his army across the Vid, over which he passed on two bridges, one the old, and the other the new one lately constructed. He took part of his artillery, some three batteries, and a train of about five or six hundred carriages drawn by bullocks. He succeeded in getting his army, the artillery, and part of the train over by daybreak. . . . . The attack was a most brilliant and daring one. The Turks advanced as far as they could under cover of their waggons, while the Russians poured in a terrible fire on them from their Berdan breech-loaders, scarcely less destructive than the Peabody, and opened on the advancing line with shell and shrapnel. The Turks then did a splendid deed of bravery, only equalled by Skobeleff's capture of the two famous redoubts. Probably finding their cover beginning to fail them, owing to the cattle being killed or getting frightened and running away, they dashed forward with a shout upon the line of trenches held by the Sibrersky or Siberian Regiment, swept over them like a tornado, poured into their battery, bayoneted the artillerymen, officers and men, who, with desperate heroism, stood to their pieces to nearly a man, and seized the whole battery. The Sibrersky Regiment had been overthrown and nearly annihilated. The Turks had broken the first circle that held them in. Had they gone on they would have found two more; but they did not have time to go on. The Russians rallied almost immediately.

General Strukoff, of the Emperor's staff, brought up the first brigade of Grenadiers, who, led by their general, flung themselves on the Turks with fury. A hand-to-hand fight ensued, man to man, bayonet to bayonet, which is said to

have lasted several minutes, for the Turks clung to the captured guns with dogged obstinacy. They seem to have forgotten in the fury of the battle that they had come out to escape from Plevna, and not to take and hold a battery, and they held on to the guns with almost the same desperation which the Russian dead around them had shown a few minutes before. Nearly all the Turks in the battle were killed. Those in the flanking trenches open to the Russian fire had of course very little shelter, and were soon overpowered, and began a retreat which, under the murderous fire which came after them, instantly became a flight.

"For four hours the storm of lead swept on, as one hundred guns sent forth flame, and smoke, and iron. During all this time we were in momentary expectation of seeing one side or the other rush to the charge. We could hardly yet realize that this was to be the last fight we should ever see round Plevna, and that when the guns ceased it was the last time we should hear them here.

"About twelve o'clock the firing began to diminish on both sides, as if by mutual agreement. Then it stopped entirely. The rolling crash of the infantry and the deep-toned bellowing of the artillery was heard no more. The smoke lifted and there was silence—a silence that will not be broken here for many a long year, perhaps never again, by the sound of battle. The firing had not ceased more than half an hour when a white flag was seen waving from the road leading around the cliffs beyond the bridge. Plevna had fallen, and Osman Pacha was going to surrender."

Several of the Russian armies of invasion had been placed in jeopardy from deficient numbers and incompetent generals, but now, by the fall of Plevna, 100,000 men were set at liberty for offensive purposes. Besides these, large reinforcements had been brought into the field, and in the latter policy of the Russian war-direction, talent, not favouritism, placed officers in important commands. The Russians having, in fact, completely recovered from the critical position in which their own short-comings and

the successes of the Turks at Plevna in July and September had placed them, were now prepared to prosecute their onward march.

9. *Exhaustion of the Turkish Armies.*

In Armenia the regular siege of Erzeroum had begun about the middle of December. It had not yet shared the fate of Kars, but this was, perhaps, more due to a Siberian severity of the winter than to any very hopeful resistance on the part of the Turks.

In Europe they were abandoning the Quadrilateral, and withdrawing troops from positions they could no longer hope to hold. In fact, while the military power of Russia had been steadily advancing, by raising the decimated corps to their full strength, and by fresh levies, that of Turkey had rapidly declined and was practically exhausted. They might still successfully defend strong positions, but for them all offensive movements were at an end. The Russian losses had by Christmas-day reached a total of 80,435 men, but the losses of the Turks must have been much greater, and 80,000 of their soldiers were prisoners in the hands of the Russians.

Under these circumstances the Porte addressed a Circular Note to the European Powers, and signatories of 1871, defining the situation and inviting mediation. After referring to the origin of the war it said: "The Imperial Government is conscious of having done nothing to provoke war; it has done everything to avoid it; it has vainly sought to discover Russia's motives in her aggressive campaign. The Porte has shown its desire for improvement by reorganizing its judicial system, by devising reforms without distinction of race or religion, according to the Constitution, which has been everywhere well received. . . . .The state of war simply retards such reforms and is disastrous to the country generally, destroying agricultural interests, killing industry, and ruining financial reorganizations. Independently of these

arrangements for reform, what reason can there be for continuing the war? Russia has declared she is not animated by a spirit of conquest. The military honour of both sides must be abundantly satisfied. What object can there be in prolonging a contest ruinous to both countries? The moment has arrived for the belligerent Powers to accept peace without affecting their dignity. Europe might now usefully interpose her good offices, since the Porte is ready to come to terms. The country is not at the end of its resources, and is still prepared to fight in its own defence; it is ready, moreover, to sacrifice all for the independence and integrity of the fatherland. But the Porte is desirous to stop the further effusion of blood, and therefore appeals to the feelings of justice which must animate the Great Powers, hoping they will receive these overtures favourably."

On December 13th the second session of the Turkish Parliament was opened in the Grand Hall of the Imperial Palace. The Sultan said:—"I am happy to see around me the representatives of the nation. You know that we have had to defend ourselves in a war declared against us by Russia, and which is still going on. You know that our subjects in the Herzegovina, who enjoyed the privileges of equality and national protection, have entered upon a course of rebellion, and you are also aware of the unjustifiable declaration of war directed against us by the Danubian Principalities. All these events have increased our difficulties in carrying on the war, but no resource has been spared in making a bold front against them. I again appeal to the co-operation and patriotism of my subjects in order to protect, with me, our legitimate rights. . . .The war having exceeded all ordinary bounds, many inoffensive inhabitants, including women and children, who are not amenable to martial law, have been the victims of cruel treatment deserving the reprobation of humanity. I hope that the future will not prevent the truth from being made manifest. . . . .Inasmuch as the Constitution gives you the right of free deliberation upon questions of policy, of government, and of local interest, we deem it superfluous

to give you any further encouragement. Our relations with friendly Powers continue on an amicable footing. May God bless our efforts!"

With reference to the atrocities that have, more or less, marked the progress of this cruel and desolating war, and about which so many charges and counter-charges have been made, the whole truth is not yet probably known.

There can be no doubt, however, but that the Turkish armies are accompanied by swarms of Asiatic barbarians, whose main objects are plunder and the gratification of their fiendish instincts by every kind of foul and cruel deed; and so every description of horror invariably follows in the wake of Turkish victories. These atrocities, if not perpetrated by the regular Turkish troops, seem to be sanctioned by them, and even by the Turkish Government, as part and parcel of their system of terrorism and revenge.

The Russian army has its Cossacks, whose propensities are probably much the same as those of the Turkish irregulars; but in the Russian army, according to Englishmen and men of other nations whose testimony is above suspicion, atrocities are held in abhorrence, and are, as far as practicable, put down with a strong hand by the Russian officers. On the Russian side such atrocities as have occurred were perpetrated chiefly, if not exclusively, by the Bulgarians. They have been degraded by slavery, and are very much what the Turks have made them, and the best thing about them seems to be that while debarred from all civil rights, they have not been content with a mere material prosperity. While their lives, their property, and their honour were at the mercy of the ruling caste, they refused to sit down contentedly and sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.

CHAPTER V.

1. *End of the Russo-Turkish War.—Crisis at Constantinople.—The Armistice.*

At the beginning of 1878 it became evident that the Turkish resistance was failing. On 31st December, 1877, General Gourko carried, after a sharp contest, in which he lost some 700 men, the fortified position of Taschkesen, in the valley of Sofia, and proceeded to force his way to that place through the Etropol Balkans; while in the central Balkans also the Russians were pressing upon the Turkish army. Over the Etropol Balkans General Gourko made a wonderful march. He abandoned the main road, and took a mountain path from Orkhanie to the westward of Kaba Konak, and thence to Taschkesen. The road for the guns had literally to be made in the dark, for the sappers could only work at night, and the paths were so slippery that steps had to be cut with the axe, as in ascending a steep snow mountain. The men, ill-fed and subjected for several days to intense cold, were almost worn out, and after doing their work in the snow, dropped down asleep "like logs;" but still the road was made, and the advance-guard, after thirty hours of incredible effort, scaled the ridge and literally slid down to the southern side. The whole force gradually crossed, and Sofia was occupied on January 6th. Following up, meanwhile, their success in the Trojan Pass, the Russians, under General Radetzky, took the Shipka—though defended by a Turkish army of forty-one battalions, ten batteries of artillery, and one regiment of cavalry. A Turkish battalion has a numerical strength of 800 men,

and a battery consists of six guns. They fought desperately, it was said; and the number of guns taken (sixty) was larger than any taken on either side in the European campaign, except at Plevna, which fell after investment. Generals Mirsky and Scobeleff had penetrated the Balkans by the Trojan Pass, and occupied Kezanlik, so the Turks were enclosed between the two armies. The Porte, terrified and disorganized, instructed the general in the field to conclude an armistice. Server Pacha made a statement to the Chamber of Deputies, informing them that every effort had been made by the Government to interest the European Powers in the fate of Turkey, but in vain, and that it was idle to entertain any hope of an alliance. Turkey was completely isolated, and it therefore became necessary for her to determine alone how she could best bring the present war to a close. The terms of an armistice, he informed the Chamber, had been agreed upon by the Cabinet, and when it had been concluded by the Russian commanders its nature would be communicated to the Chamber. The Russian reply was received at Constantinople on January 14th, and was of a conciliatory tenor. The Porte was desired, however, to send a plenipotentiary to the Russian head-quarters to discuss the preliminary conditions of peace on which the armistice was to be founded. A Ministerial crisis followed at Constantinople. The Turkish Ministry resigned, and a new Cabinet was constituted, with Hamid Pacha as Grand Vizier, and Server Pacha as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Meantime, while General Gourko drove Suleiman Pacha over the Despoto Dagh and down to Kavola, Adrianople being not yet occupied, and long trains of munitions and supplies still crossing the Balkans; and while the Turkish Plenipotentiaries were negotiating with the Grand Duke Nicholas at Kezanlik, the panic in Constantinople was described as deplorable. The bulk of the immense population, which is estimated at all figures from 600,000 to 1,400,000, was frightened by the crowds of footsore, half-frozen, hungry refugees swarming into the city, and was most anxious for peace. The Softas, however, were

angry with the Government, and threatened the Sultan with deposition, while the temper of the garrison was to the last degree uncertain. The Sultan, afraid of the Russians, afraid of the populace, and afraid of his own advisers, listened with one ear to the suggestion of flight to Broussa, and with the other to counsels of resistance *à outrance* behind the lines of Tchataldja, while he at the same time sent off messenger after messenger to increase the powers of his plenipotentiaries. Stories of the intention of the Softas to fire the city were constantly circulated, and fears of an outbreak ending in general carnage gravely entertained. However, after weeks of suspense, the armistice and preliminaries of peace were signed at Adrianople on January 31st. The latter comprised the establishment of a Principality of Bulgaria; the payment of a war indemnity or a territorial compensation; the independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, with an increase of territory for each of the Principalities; the introduction of reforms in Bosnia and the Herzegovina; an ulterior understanding between the Sultan and the Czar on the question of the Straits; and lastly, the evacution of the Danubian fortresses by the Turks.

The Sultan and the Czar, on the signature of the armistice, exchanged telegrams expressing their mutual satisfaction at the cessation of hostilities. The telegram from the Czar to the Sultan was thus worded:—"I desire peace as much as yourself, but it is necessary for me, and it is necessary for us, that it should be a solid and enduring peace." In St. Petersburg prayers were offered up in the churches, and salvoes of artillery fired, on the occasion of the signature of the armistice. The town was decked with flags, and preparations made for brilliant illuminations. In Constantinople there was great satisfaction at the news.

In consequence of the above conditions, a portion of the British Fleet was at once ordered to leave Besika Bay and proceed to Constantinople for the protection of British residents there. Before this was known it was telegraphed from Constantinople that the city was practically in the

power of the Russians, whose officers were walking about Pera and Stamboul without any escort, whilst some of them had, after being received by the Sultan, left to arrange the line of demarcation between Turkey and Montenegro.

The *Russian Agency*, in a special supplement, dated midnight, February 9th, said: "The entry of the British fleet into the Bosphorus is an accomplished fact. Although this act is said to be caused by the necessity of protecting the Christian population of Constantinople, the decision of the British Cabinet nevertheless restores to Russia her liberty of action. In any case, Russia will regulate her attitude by that of England."

A Constantinople telegram stated that on February 12th, Mr. Layard telegraphed at midnight to Lord Derby that, up to that hour, he was still without instructions with regard to the fleet. An earlier despatch said:—"Mr. Layard did not stop the British fleet from entering the Dardanelles, but Vice-Admiral Hornby himself withdrew to Besika Bay on receiving notice from the Governor of the Dardanelles that he was without instructions, and could only allow the fleet to pass under protest." Another telegram stated "that the Grand Duke Nicholas has expressed his satisfaction to Ahmed Vefyk Pacha at the non-admission of the British fleet to the Bosphorus."

In Russia, a counterpart feeling to that in England against Russia prevailed towards England: the *Golos* demanding the occupation of the Dardanelles, and the *Moscow Gazette* suggesting that the Russians should take possession of the Bosphorus, if the British ironclads did not immediately return to Besika Bay. However, after innumerable delays, the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano on Sunday, March 3rd, and the Grand Duke Nicholas announced the fact to the Czar in a telegram:—"I do myself the honour of congratulating your Majesty upon the conclusion of peace. God has vouchsafed to us the happiness of accomplishing the holy work begun by your Majesty, and on the anniversary of the enfranchisement of the serfs your

Majesty has delivered the Christians from the Mussulman yoke."

On the news of the conclusion of peace becoming known in St. Petersburg, the streets were filled by immense and enthusiastic crowds, who flocked towards the Imperial Palace, where they gave repeated cheers for the Emperor. He appeared on the balcony in acknowledgment of the popular greeting, and the crowd then sung the Russian National Anthem with uncovered heads.

The scene at San Stefano was minutely and graphically described by the *Daily News* correspondent, winding up thus:—"Never has a peace been established under more dramatic and picturesque conditions, or with more impressive surroundings. The two armies face to face, the clearing storm, the waning light of day, the rush of the wind, and the near wash of the waves mingling with the chant of the priests and the responses of the soldiers, and the roar of the Sea of Marmora swelling and falling. The landscape, always of great beauty, now formed a wonderfully appropriate back-ground to the picture. Across the fretting, chafing waters of the sea, the dome and slender minarets of St. Sophia came up sharply against the sky, the dominant points in the interesting silhouette of distant Stamboul. Away to the south, the Princes Islands rose like great mounds, dark and massive, against the distant Asiatic shore, and behind them we knew was hidden the English fleet. Above and far beyond the white peak of Mount Olympus unveiled for a moment its majestic summit as the rays of the ruddy sunset were reflected from the snow-covered flanks. The religious ceremony over, the Grand Duke took his stand, and the army began to file past with a swinging rapid stride, in forcible contrast to the weary pace with which they used to drag themselves slowly along at the end of that long and exhausting chase, scarcely at times able to put one foot before the other. The night was falling, and darkness settled quickly over the scene. When we left the spot the Grand Duke was still sitting immovable on his horse, and the troops were still passing. As we rode down into the village we could

hear the joyful shouts still ringing in the air, and the measured tramp, tramp, going off in the darkness. So ends the war of 1877–78."

2. *The Berlin Congress.—The Treaty of Berlin.*

Diplomacy having brought about a Congress in place of a war, Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury started for Berlin in June (1878). The first meeting of the Congress of Berlin was held on June 13th, at the Radziwill Palace, the new official residence of Prince Bismarck and the Foreign Office of Berlin. In the Hall of Congress, at the lower ends of the table, sate the Protocolists, in the alphabetical order of the French names of their countries, Germany (Allemagne) being the first, and facing the President in the bow of the horseshoe table. For England came Lords Beaconsfield, Salisbury, and Odo Russell; for France, M. Waddington, the half-English Foreign Minister of the French Republic, once a Rugby boy, a Cambridge first-class man, and a member of the Cambridge eight; and with him the Count de St. Vallier. Germany was represented by Prince Bismarck, the President, Von Bulow, and Prince Hohenlohe; Austria by Count Andrassy, Count Karolyi, and Baron Haymerle; Russia by Prince Gortschakoff, Count Schouvaloff, and Baron d'Oubril; Italy by Counts Corti and Launay; and Turkey by Caratheodori Pacha, Sadoullah Bey, and Mehemet Ali Pacha. At the first meeting nothing passed but formalities, and a short speech from Prince Bismarck, described as conventional, when he was elected President. The affairs of the Congress did not seem to go smoothly at first. Lord Beaconsfield demanded the withdrawal of the Russian forces, but declined to assent to the retirement of the British fleet; and Count Schouvaloff objecting, the point was reserved. But the Bulgarian question was the pressing matter, and was, upon Prince Bismarck's suggestion, taken first. Curiously enough, the first event of real importance to the Congress transpired at home in

England, and came like the bursting of a political bomb-shell. Suddenly, and without warning, appeared in the *Globe* the text of a secret Anglo-Russian agreement, signed on May 30th, at the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff. Under this agreement, the Powers agreed that Bulgaria should be divided into two Provinces, of which the Northern one should be indepen-

CARATHEODORI PACHA, SADOULLAH BEY, MEHEMET ALI PACHA.

dent, and the Southern one governed like an English colony, the Governor being appointed for five or ten years with the consent of Europe. Southern Bulgaria was not to reach the Ægean. Turkish troops not to enter Bulgaria in time of peace, but only on war or insurrection being threatened. The superior officers of the militia in Southern Bulgaria to be named by the Sultan. Europe

to settle the organization of the Greek and other Christian provinces. The Russian Government not to be paid its indemnity in land. Bayazid to be restored to the Turks, but Batoum and Kars might become Russian, the British Government holding that, although this extension of Russia was a danger to Turkey, "the duty of protecting the Ottoman Empire from this danger, which henceforth will rest largely (*d'une mesure speciale*) upon England, can be effected without exposing Europe to the calamities of a fresh war." The British Government engaged, subject to these points, ten in number, "not to dispute the articles of the preliminary Treaty of San Stefano." Fresh modifications might be proposed in Congress, by common consent, but failing them, "the present Memorandum is a mutual engagement in Congress for the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain."

The Berlin Congress advanced towards peace: chiefly, it might be gathered from the reports of correspondents, because Prince Bismarck had made up his mind that peace should be. He informed the Turkish Commissioner, it was said, that he wanted peace and did not care for the Turkish map. The formation of a Turkish Bulgaria from the Danube to the Balkans, with an elected Prince and army of its own, was the outcome of the Bulgarian question. That State was to be the owner of all the fortresses, including Varna and Sofia. The Balkans themselves were resigned to the Sultan, who was to build in them as many forts and keep in them as many troops as he pleased. The region south of the Balkans, again, stretching from a point below Bourgas on the Black Sea to the Karasu, but not touching the Ægean, was to form an autonomous province, to be called "Eastern Roumelia," to be governed by a Hospodar, appointed for five or ten years, who would be nominated by the Sultan and the Powers; and it was rumoured he would be an Anglo-Indian officer. He would be aided by a local elective Parliament, and supported by a local militia, whose higher officers must, however, be approved by the Sultan.

The dismemberment of Turkey went on apace. At the

eighth sitting of the Congress, at the instance of the English Plenipotentiaries, it was decided to entrust Austria with the task of occupying Bosnia and the Herzegovina in the interests of European peace. The duration of the Austrian occupation was not determined, and full liberty was left to Austria in regard to the organization of the provinces. In the course of the discussion Lord Salisbury declared that England was penetrated by the justness of the observations of the Austrian Plenipotentiary. The acquiescence of Italy was unwillingly given by Count Corti, and Turkey at first refused, claiming to be bound only by the Treaty of San Stefano. After communication with the Porte, however, Caratheodori Pacha announced that she accepted the principle of the occupation, and would arrange the details with Austria. Servia received her independence, with a territorial extension to Nish, and the Bessarabian question was settled by the retrocession to Russia of the territory up to the Kilia mouth of the Danube, Roumania receiving the Dobrudscha instead. The Montenegrin question was settled according to the Austrian programme, the little State receiving the town and harbour of Antivari, and a considerable increase of territory on the north and north-east, but only about half the quantity allotted to her in the San Stefano preliminaries.

On June 4th, the English Government had signed a secret treaty with the Sultan of Turkey as well as their secret agreement with the Czar of Russia. By this treaty the Queen of England engaged for all future time to defend the Asiatic dominions of the Ottoman Empire "by force of arms," in consideration of a promise by the Sultan to introduce all necessary reforms as agreed on with his ally, and of the assignment of the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by Great Britain, its reversion to Turkey being provided if Russia should give up Batoum, Ardahan, and Kars. About the cession of Batoum very strong language had been used in England; and if pledged to anything, the English Plenipotentiaries were supposed to be pledged to resist that. But they had agreed with

Russia not to resist it, and did not, and only made a *casus belli*, as far as the authorities could be best interpreted, of the question of Roumania. Batoum was to be made into a free harbour, belonging to Russia, but not fortified. England practically abandoned the cause of Greece altogether. Lord Beaconsfield steadily resisted her claims, and M. Waddington and Count Corti, who fought for her, were only able to induce the Congress to advise the Porte to grant her the territory south of a line to be drawn from the Salambria to the Peneus.

The form of solution was presented as the joint proposition of France and Italy. It proposed to extend the frontiers of the Hellenic Kingdom to a line, drawn across from a point opposite Corfu to a corresponding point on the Ægean Sea, nearly parallel to the present boundary, the annexed territory to include both Janina and Larissa. The resolution was as follows:—"The Congress invites the Sublime Porte to come to an understanding with the Government of the Hellenic Kingdom for the rectification of the frontiers. It is of opinion that the line should be drawn from the Valley of Salambria, otherwise called Peneus, on the Ægean, to the mouth of the Kalamas, otherwise called the Thyamis, on the west coast. In the event of difficulties arising in the negotiations for this purpose the Powers are ready to render their good offices as mediators between the two States."

In consideration of the "commercial character" given to Batoum, England consented to restore the *status quo ante bellum* for the Dardanelles.

The delivery of the Isle of Cyprus to the administration of the Empress of India soon took place. Admiral Lord John Hay, who had brought his squadron to the Port of Larnaca, then arrived at Nicosia, the capital of the island, and proceeded with his staff to the Governor's residence. There, in presence of Samin Pacha and the officials and notables of the island, he stated the circumstances under which the Government of Cyprus had been given into the hands of the Queen of Great Britain.

Meanwhile on Saturday, July 13th, the Congress ended.

having lasted just one month, and "changed the face of Europe" as it has been so often changed before. It included the largest number of diplomatists who ever signed a treaty, and the treaty is said to have been the longest ever written. All were present in full uniform, as at the opening sitting, and formally affixed their several signatures to the Treaty of Berlin.

The Treaty of Berlin bears traces of the determination of Prince Bismarck's resolve not to allow the interests of Austria to be jeopardized in the South-East of Europe. Throughout Count Andrassy's term of office Prince Bismarck and he have worked together with complete cordiality, and their union has been remarkably successful. During former European wars, as the Count explained to the Diet, the question asked was, What province should Austria lose? but during the late conflict in the East the problem from the first was, What would be Austria's gain?

Austria "occupies and administers" Bosnia and Novi-Bazaar, and her position in view of any future complications is doubly strong. She can strangle Panslavism in its cradle, and her present complete understanding with Turkey makes her military position especially favourable for future operations. Not a shot can be fired or a sword drawn South of the Balkans without leave from Austria, and in this matter there is reason to believe that Vienna represents not only itself, but Berlin.

The ambition and energies of Austria are directed to the South and the East; and in this policy of expansion she more or less represents all Germans. They are an enterprising and pushing race, and would never have been easily reconciled to a Russian conquest that would have barred their way to the Ægean Sea. Thus the Eastern policy of the two Empires is to keep available for future operations the territory now Turkish.

Austria remained resolutely neutral while Russia conquered Turkey, and the price she obtained—probably stipulated beforehand—was Bosnia. But Russia also obtained her advantages, and the bargain has been fulfilled.

A new ledger is now opened, and Germany and Austria have, it is clear, a joint account. The Czar and the Emperor William are as cordial as ever, nor is there any likelihood that Russia will risk a new war so soon after the costly experience of the last. When, however, the Eastern Question arises again the natural alliance between two Germanic States, uniting nearly eighty millions of people in the centre of Europe, will prove the chief factor in the solution of the problem. Austrian troops will be nearer to Constantinople than the soldiers of any other Great Power, and, representing Berlin as well as Vienna, they will be a heavy weight thrown into the scale.

As to Russia herself, she enjoyed in the last war—partly, no doubt, through arrangement, and partly through accidents—the neutrality of Austria, of England, and of France—the three Powers that might have been expected to oppose her advance in the East. It is not likely that she can secure such advantages again. Austria, backed by Germany, has the power and the inclination to play a leading part in any new drama, and it is open to England to strengthen such an alliance by lending to it her moral, financial and naval support. In the East the interests of Austria, Germany, and England are alike. They are based on the resolution shared by all three that Turkish weakness shall not be Russia's opportunity, and that until time shows some better solution as desirable and practicable, all three are ready to maintain the Treaty of Berlin.

BOOK V.

DESCRIPTION OF TURKEY.

CHAPTER I.

1. *Turkey in Europe, Asia, and Africa.—Administrative and Statistical Divisions.*

THE Turkish Empire, in comprising within it the tributary countries which are bound to it by the links of vassalage, has for limits in Europe—to the south an imaginary line drawn from the Gulf of Volo to the Gulf of Arta, and which separates it from the Kingdom of Greece; to the west, the Ionian and the Adriatic Seas as far as the heights of Montenegro; then another imaginary line parallel to the coast, and which separates it from Austrian Dalmatia as far as the sources of the Unna; to the north, a portion of the course of the Unna, the Save, from the confluence of the last-named stream as far as Belgrade, the course of the Danube from Belgrade as far as Orsova, the crest of the Eastern Carpathians from Orsova to near the sources of the Bistritza, an affluent of the Sereth, an imaginary line separating the Austrian Bukowine until it meets the Pruth, the course of the Pruth as far as its confluence with the Danube, the Danube, and an imaginary line to the north of that river as far as the Black Sea.

TURKEY IN ASIA has for limits—to the north and east, a conventional line which separates it from the Russian States, and which passes between Batoum and Akhaltzit, Kars and Erivan; then another conventional line which

separates it from the Persian States, and which gives to Turkey almost all the basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates; to the south, an indeterminate line which runs from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, giving to Turkey a part of Arabia (or the Hedjas), and thence goes across the Isthmus of Suez to join the Mediterranean.

In AFRICA its possessions consist only of the tributary States of Egypt, Tunis, and Tripoli.

TURKEY IN EUROPE is divided into two great portions, separated by the chain of the Balkans—(1.) The countries belonging to the basin of the Danube; (2.) The countries belonging to the Peninsula, commonly called *the Hellenic*. The first comprehend Bosnia, Servia, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria; the second comprise the Provinces of the south of the Archipelago, which are Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly; Provinces to the south of the Adriatic—Albania and the Herzegovina. It is in this physical order, which is not that of the administrative divisions of the Ottoman Empire, but which is more simple and convenient, that we are about to supplement the history of that Empire by the description of the countries which constitute it.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND STATISTICAL DIVISIONS.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.—The Ottoman Empire, of which a geographical outline is given above, by taking for basis its physical and historical divisions, was in 1878, previous to the delimitations consequent upon the Berlin Treaty, divided, administratively, into *vilayets* or general governments, themselves subdivided into *livas* or provinces, which are again divided into *cazas* or districts. Turkey in Europe comprehends 15 vilayets, 42 livas, and 376 cazas. Turkey in Asia, 17 vilayets, 83 livas, 858 cazas; to which are nominally added 3 vilayets for the vassal states of Africa.

The vilayets of Europe are:—

1. Adrianople, including Thrace.
2. Silistria, including Lower Bulgaria.

3, 4. Widdin, Nissa, including Upper Bulgaria.
5, 6, 7. Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia.
8. Belgrade, including the Turkish places of Servia.
9. Uskioup, including Upper Macedonia.
10. Bosna-Seraï, including Bosnia and Croatia.
11. Roumelia, including Upper Albania and Middle Macedonia.
12. Janina, including Lower Albania.
13. Saloniki, including Lower Macedonia and Thessaly.
14. Djezir, including the Isles of the Archipelago.
15. Crete.

The vilayets of Turkey in Asia are:—

1. Kastamouni, including the ancient Paphlagonia.
2. Khoudavanghia, including Bithynia and Mœsia.
3. Aïdin, including Lydia.
4. Karaman, including Phrygia and Pamphylia.
5. Adana, including Cilicia.
6. Bozoq, including a part of Cappadocia.
7. Sivas, including a part of Cappadocia.
8. Trebizonde, including Pontus and Colchis.
9. Erzeroum, including Armenia.
10. Mosul, including Assyria.
11. Kurdistan.
12. Kharberout, including Sophene and Comagene.
13. Haleb, including a part of Syria.
14. Saïda, including Phœnicia and Palestine.
15. Damascus, including a part of Syria.
16. Bagdad, including Babylonia.
17. Habesch, including Arabia.

2. *Turkey in Europe.—Constantinople.*

The Ottoman Empire occupies the most magnificent position in the world: extending at once into Europe, Asia, and Africa; possessing the most illustrious countries of antiquity, those whence faith and light have reached us, seated near the centre of the Mediterranean, the prin-

cipal straits of which it holds, having for its capital the most important city of Europe by its situation, touching on one side on the Sea of Venice, on the other that of Bagdad, by the north on the Asiatic steppes, by the south on the African deserts, it would seem that such an Empire was destined to dominate the world. This history will show how fatally incapable the race and religion of the Ottomans were of such an achievement.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

In the narrative of the dream of Osman, the father of the Ottoman dynasty, Constantinople, placed at the junction of two seas and of two continents, is compared, by reason of that site, unrivalled throughout the world, to a diamond set between two sapphires and two emeralds. A superb diamond, indeed, which Mahomet II. formerly added to his crown, and which seemed recently on the point of falling from the brow of his successor. It is a magnificent spectacle, and a theme that has inspired the pens of many graphic delineators, but which the pen will ever be powerless adequately to portray in all its splendour. We do not propose, therefore, to expatiate further on that paradise of nature, but rather to consider the strength and capability which this key of Europe possesses, both from nature and science, of resistance to the attacks of an enemy. In this we shall be mainly guided by the elaborate survey made, and the weighty opinions formed, by Count Moltke during the Bulgarian campaign of 1828-9. Although some of its conclusions would now be necessarily modified, the general value of the paper remains great, having regard to the immeasurable importance of Constantinople to British commerce and dominion, and the military skill of the illustrious author.

The actual city of Constantinople occupies a triangular space between the Sea of Marmora and the Golden Horn; the third front, facing the land, is about 8,000 paces long from the seven towers of the Blaquernal, and is protected by a wall thirty or forty feet high; the top of the

wall is four or five feet wide, so that there is ample room to move about upon it, and as in most parts the battlements are still in good repair, the wall may be occupied by sharpshooters without further preparation. At regular intervals of sixty or eighty paces are projecting towers of several vaulted stories, which, however, were built by the Emperor Julian, and are, therefore, not calculated to resist artillery. As a defence against cannon shot, earthworks might be thrown up against the wall, which might easily be lowered in places if necessary, as there is no want of space or material.

At a distance of fifteen or twenty paces in front of the main wall is a lower one with small towers, and outside that a dry ditch from ten to fifteen feet deep, with a faced scarp and counterscarp. The great wall extends for 17,000 paces more on the side towards the harbour and the sea, and is defended by 300 large towers in all. Immense fragments of the wall and halves of towers have fallen, and lie on the ground unbroken, but there is no regular breach on the side towards the land. In those parts which have remained standing, the stones and mortar have hardened in the course of fourteen centuries to the consistency of solid rock, and the whole is overgrown with gigantic ivy. Although the lofty battlements are visible from a distance of four or five miles, on an approach within cannon-shot range the wall completely disappears behind a thick wood of cypresses, which covers the extensive graveyards of the Moslems. It would, therefore, be very difficult to batter breaches in it, especially with field artillery; the effect produced by mortars would likewise be but trifling, as a space of more than 1,000 paces behind the walls is occupied almost entirely by gardens. The actual city, which is chiefly inhabited by Mussulmans, does not begin for a whole mile within the walls at the gigantic mosque of Sultan Mahmoud. The seraglio, which stands upon the extreme point of land, is surrounded by massive walls and towers, and forms a strong citadel against the town, and the ancient Cyclobion at the southern extremity of the landward wall affords a safe redoubt with towers

eighty feet high, and extremely thick. Five gates, protected by double towers, are open in the wall on the landward side, and a sixth is bricked up. The centre gate, which the Turks call Topkapu, or gate of artillery, and the Greeks the gate of St. Romanus, is the same that Mahmoud Gazi bombarded with his large cannon, and before which Constantine Palæologus fell.

The easiest approach to the wall of Constantinople is across the ground which lies between the brook Topjilar and the harbour. The hill, which falls with a rapid slope towards the latter and the open suburb of Eyoob, would favour a covered advance at this point. But at the foot of the hill, above a mile in advance of the landward wall, is a huge building 500 feet long, 300 wide, and flanked by lofty towers. This is the barrack of Ramistchiflik, built to contain 5,000 or 6,000 men. In front of it are some badly traced lines of entrenchment, which were thrown up on the first intelligence that the Russians had crossed the Balkan. Three thousand paces further towards the left, on the high road to Adrianople, stands a still larger turreted edifice in the midst of the well-known plain of Daood Pacha, where for three centuries the Janissaries assembled before taking the field. From this spot marched the armies which conquered Hungary, threatened Vienna, and penetrated even into Styria. After the destruction of the Janissaries, Sultan Mahmoud built a barrack for 8,000 of his newly-raised Nizam-geditt on this spot. The barracks contain a mosque, a bath, and a kiosk for the Sultan, and measure 800 paces in the front. These enormous barracks (beyond comparison the largest buildings in Constantinople, not excepting even the mosques and palaces) form, as it were, detached forts in connection with the large and massive Hastahane or hospital situated between them. These three buildings would contain 14,000 men, and afford an excellent support for the wing of a large army, which might encamp in safety between them and the landward wall. Some well-constructed trenches would render it extremely difficult to attack an army closely backed by the resources of so large a city. Neither is there any want upon these heights of the water

so indispensable to a Turkish corps, as the great conduits which supply Constantinople run right under both barracks, through subterranean channels, and bring water in abundance.

The suburbs situated upon the steep slope to the north of the harbour, Pera, Kassim-pacha, Haskoi, &c., are far less protected than Constantinople itself. They are quite open, and contain a population of above 100,000, of which more than half are Greeks, Armenians, Franks, and Jews. Very unwisely, all the great establishments belonging to the army and navy have been erected in this quarter—the arsenals, the dockyards, the shipping stores, the artillery workshops, the cannon foundry, the gun manufactory, and the barracks of the bombardiers and artillerymen. It is true that Galata, the old Genoese factory, which once prescribed laws to the falling Byzantine empire, likewise is a kind of citadel. It is surrounded with high walls, behind which the streets descend like staircases so steeply that they cannot even be overlooked from Pera, which stands above it. An immense round tower rises like a giant above this town still devoted to the trade with Europe. But it faces the harbour, and could contribute nothing to the defence of the place towards the land; neither does it protect any of the above-named establishments.

The approaches on this side might, however, be defended without difficulty; and supposing the Sultan had only a few thousand men left in the field, and were threatened by land both on the west and on the north, he might leave Constantinople to defend her own landward front, and draw up his little army on the plateau to the north of Pera. The advanced guard might take up a very favourable position on the grip at the post of Sindchirlikuju, on the high road to Bujuk-dereh; the front would not be more than 1,000 paces in length, and easily defended by temporary earthworks; both wings would rest on deep rocky ravines. The entrances into the "Vale of Sweet Waters" are few and difficult, and might easily be guarded by special outposts. In order to attack this position in front, the invaders would be forced to detach a corps

which would have to cross the valleys of the rivers Cydaris and Barbyses, passable only by means of bridges, and would be separated from the main body by a distance of ten miles, and many very difficult passes. Such a corps would be in great danger of being surprised by the Turks from Eyoob, and it would have to be provisioned from Kilios or Derkos on the Black Sea. Rather greater numbers and some resolution would likewise enable the Turks to entrench themselves with great advantage on the narrow tongue of land to the west of the village of Kahathpaneh.

A very important matter in the defence of Constantinople is the supply of water. As the town is entirely built on rocky heights, and the wells within the walls contain but little water, and that bitter, the first care of the Greek Emperors was to supply the town with this first of necessaries by means of very large canals. A vast quantity of moisture falls in the shape of snow and rain during the spring and winter months upon the range of wooded hills on the north of Constantinople towards the Black Sea. Here whole valleys were dammed up by gigantic walls, and so much water was collected in these artificial lakes that, in spite of the evaporation, it supplied the vast consumption of the city throughout the summer until the next rainy season. From these reservoirs the water was conveyed to the city for the distance of above twenty miles in arched brick conduits which followed a very winding course. Hills were cut through, and valleys crossed by aqueducts, many of which are 100 feet high and above 1,000 paces long. But as these conduits would have only to be cut in a single place in order to dry up all the fountains of Constantinople, the Emperors had taken the precaution of constructing large basins on elevated places within the walls, which were filled in times of peace, and could supply the city in case of a siege. The carelessness of the Turks has suffered all these great works to decay. The open cisterns are now filled up with gardens and houses, nay, in one there is even a mosque, and are called Tchukur Bostau, or deep gardens. The vaulted ones, as

for instance, the Bin Bir Direk, or thousand columns, serve as a habitation to the silk spinners, and are half filled up with rubbish. The successors of Mahmoud and Solyman never dreamed that their descendants could ever be besieged; but things are greatly changed since their times, and it would now be highly advisable to restore the cisterns to their original purpose, which might easily be done. In the event of a complete investment of Constantinople, the numerous population could only subsist for a very short time on the bad water of the wells; but so long as the city is only attacked by land, good water can be got in abundance from the magnificent springs on the Asiatic shore, from Scutari Tchamlidje, Kara Kulak, and above all from the inexhaustible springs of Sultanieh, close to the sea shore, at which whole fleets take in their supplies.

Neither can the city be short of provisions so long as the Turks remain masters of the Sea of Marmora. The banks of this splendid inland sea feed numerous flocks, and grow wheat, olives, wine, fruits, and vegetables in abundance. The fertile plains of Broussa are in constant communication with the capital by the port of Mudania, and the sea affords an endless supply of excellent fish; the myriads of Palamedæ, which are hauled up by a single large net at the time of their passage through the Bosphorus, would alone prevent an actual famine; and even if a hostile fleet appeared in the Hellespont, it would scarcely be able to cut off the communications between Constantinople and Scutari and the coast of Asia. The Bosphorus between the two towns is only 1,850 paces wide, and is completely commanded from the lofty shore of the Seraglio. The broad quays and the plateau of Gulhane are admirably adapted for placing artillery, and in the course of a few days the Turks, animated by the energy and activity of one man, General Sebastiani, mounted upon them several hundred pieces, sufficient effectually to prevent any hostile fleet from anchoring between the two towns, or even from interrupting the communication between them for a moment.

In order, therefore, to invest Constantinople completely,

it would be necessary to have two armies in Europe, a third in Asia, and a fleet in the Sea of Marmora The latter pre-supposes that the Turkish fleet should first be destroyed, and that one of the approaches to the capital, either the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus, should be forced.

With respect to the second access to Constantinople by sea, the Bosphorus, a description of that Strait is given in the section (5) under that head.

At the close of the recent war, attention was again called to the great value of the defences on the west front of Constantinople. Ever since the day when the Russian troops entered the little town of Nicopolis, and, indeed, even before that event occurred, thoughtful spirits amongst the Turks perceived the necessity for fortifying the Ottoman capital. Even those who did not altogether believe in the prowess of the Muscovite soldiers, and who yet retained some faith in the "place" of Abdul Kerim Pacha, admitted the wisdom of taking such measures as would ensure the safety of Constantinople in case of an emergency.

So soon, therefore, as the Grand Duke Nicholas advanced to San Stefano, it became evident that some fresh protecting cordon must be drawn round the Turkish capital. There were not wanting desirable hills which might easily afford protection; yet against these there was always the argument that they were so near Stamboul that, were they attacked, the city itself must receive most of the missiles that passed over the entrenchments. It was perceived by the Ottoman authorities that one of the results of so close a fight might possibly be great disorder in the capital itself, and for some time, especially during those doubtful days when Muscovite intrigue was employed to obtain a hold upon the Bosphorus, great anxiety was felt by the Sultan and his Ministers. The lines at Buyuk Tchekmedjé and Tchataldja had never been open to this objection, they being situate fully thirty miles from Constantinople, while guarding the place just as effectually as though they had been at its very gates; and it was resolved, at the earliest possible moment, to reoccupy them,

should the opportunity ever occur again. Thanks to the Berlin Treaty and the "still small voice" of that English fleet whose presence in the Marmora Sea so much impresses Muscovite soldiers and statesmen, General Todleben at length withdrew towards Adrianople, leaving at least Tchataldja once more to the Turks, who decided to finish the works without delay, and the task was fully entrusted by the Sultan himself to General Baker, so that the forts will be erected and arranged in accordance with the ideas which were first of all mooted, and which experience has shown to be the most complete and satisfactory. In this way Constantinople will, in all probability, be rendered safe from attack, and should ever another struggle arise, both the city and the Bosphorus will be beyond a *coup de main* from the invader.

3. *The Danube, from its Source to its Mouths.*

The entire basin of the Danube, which river has its origin in the Black Forest and its termination in the Black Sea, divides itself naturally into four basins, by means of mountain chains, that, after diverging to the right and left of its orographic cincture, return towards each other and grasp the valley of the Danube in three different places; thus forcing the river to successively change its level, and to traverse, as it were, four vast steppes. Of the northern province of the Ottoman Empire, Bosnia and Servia occupy a portion of the third basin; Roumania and Bulgaria nearly the whole of the fourth.

The Danube, after having traversed several of the States of Germany and the greater portion of the Austrian territories, enters the Ottoman Empire at Belgrade. It is then a majestic river, deep, rapid, intersected by large islands, flowing between low shores and fertile plains, having a breadth of 800 metres, and navigable even by ships-of-war. The first city which it leaves is one of the most famous of the Empire, in a military point of view —Belgrade, situated at the confluence of the Save, facing

the point where the Temes, in emptying itself into the Danube, divides it into several marshy arms, upon the great highway which leads from Vienna to Constantinople, equi-distant from those two cities and situate at the entrance to the important province of Servia, forming a bulwark of the Ottoman Empire against Austria, and formerly the advanced post of the Turks against Hungary. It forms an irregular triangle, one side of which is bounded by the Save, another by the Danube, both being united by a citadel; the third side, facing the country, has a bastioned *enceinte* and a fort. This city has undergone very numerous sieges, of which the most important were those of 1521, when it was captured by Solyman the Magnificent; of 1658, of 1717, of 1789, when it was taken by the Imperialists; of 1806 and of 1813, when it fell into the hands of the Servians, &c. At the present time it is still a stronghold, having a singular position: it is situated in Servia, a State almost independent of the Ottoman Empire, and thus entirely isolated from the rest of the Empire.

The Danube, below Belgrade, has its right bank somewhat elevated and skirted by slopes which produce excellent vineyards; it serves as a boundary between Hungary and Servia, and it thus waters *Krotska*, a village celebrated by a victory of the Turks over the Imperialists in 1739; next *Semendria*, a town of 10,000 inhabitants, formerly the residence of the Servian kings, defended by an old fortress; it passes near *Passarowitz*, a village rendered famous by the Peace of 1718, made there between the Turks and the Imperialists, and reaches *Columbatz*. There, the river, hemmed in on the left by the near approach of the Carpathians, and on the right by a branch of the Balkans, which narrowing to a junction, as it were, in its bed, the river, begins to foam and roar and form rapids. Both shores, equally steep, form two walls 300 metres high; enormous rocks appear above the surface and dangerous whirlpools embarrass its course. The steamboats plying from Vienna are moored here, and their merchandise transferred therefrom by a road cut in steps up the rocks, navigation being no longer practicable save for Turkish lighters (*Kirlaches*)

which convey the agricultural products of Wallachia as far as Vienna. It then winds round the charming peninsula of *Kladova*, and reaches *Neu-Orsova*, a small fortified town of Servia, situate on an island, with a rampart and a fort on the right bank, and which is called the key of Wallachia and Hungary. Opposite to it is the last town of the Austrian States, *Alt-Orsova*. Below this island the river presents a fine mass of water; and then flows again turbulently over a bed of granite rocks—a tract of junction between the Carpathian and Balkan ranges which dams up, twists and forces the current to wind backwards and to writhe over numberless shoals, its torrent-like waves bounding over every obstacle and thereby forming falls and whirlpools. This formidable strangulation of the river, where it runs at the rate of 6,000 metres an hour, is known by the name of the *Iron* or *Trajan's Gate*. It was here, near the Wallachian village of *Tchernetz*, at a point where the Danube is 1,000 metres in breadth, that the Romans of the time of Trajan threw over it a bridge of twenty arches, a gigantic work that seventeen centuries, and the rushing of the river have not been able wholly to destroy: there still remaining the black *débris* of five piles, which look like a part of the rocks into which they are jointed. This gorge is more than a mile long; and the descent being considerable, the water rushes through it with great strength and rapidity, being divided by rocks into three streams, of which the two outer ones are very shallow.

Below Orsova, the Danube flows entirely within the Turkish Empire, at first separating Wallachia from Servia and next from Bulgaria. It leaves on the right *Brza-Palanka*, a fortified town, or more correctly, *palanké*, that is surrounded by a simple rampart of earth, with a ditch and palisades of oak-trunks, of such a diameter that cannon alone could open a passage through it. This is the ordinary fortification of all the towns of Servia and Bulgaria, and with the obstinate valour which the Turks display behind walls, they are commonly capable of offering a strong resistance. Below Brza-Palanka the Danube flows

in a more placid stream, with numerous reaches, embanked, especially on the right shore, by massive and lofty escarpements. Then it receives the Timok, which separates Servia from Bulgaria, and some leagues below its confluence after the last elbow it reaches *Widdin*.

This town, which is tolerably industrious and commercial, contains a population of 20,000 inhabitants and occupies a very important position. It is at present one of the three great centres of the military line of the Danube: it commands Little Wallachia and the defiles of Transylvania, covers the approaches to Servia, and finally holds the extreme outlet of the important and difficult road, which, continued to Nissa, rejoins the great highway from Vienna to Constantinople.

Widdin presents the figure of an irregular pentagon; it has badly-built bastions, a strong citadel, and two detached works in the Kalafat islands; lastly, it is surrounded by marshes. Under its walls was fought, in 1689, a battle in which the Turks were defeated by the Imperialists. Its citadel withstood, under the celebrated Pasvan Oglou, in 1792, all the forces of the Ottoman Empire. Opposite the great island of Kalafat is a village of the same name, upon the Wallachian bank, and which in the war of 1853–4, was occupied and fortified by the Turks under Omar Pacha: it was here that they resisted for several months the Russian army, and defeated its attempt to cross the river in order to create an insurrection in Servia, and turn the Balkans.

Below Widdin, the Danube flows through a vast plain with a rapid but placid course; it is so wide that from the right bank the left is scarcely distinguishable; it presents numerous wooded islands, but no great marginal deviations, its bed being confined by high and steep banks, especially on the right shore, which commands nearly at all points the left. It thus waters *Argoul-Grad*, *Lom*, *Zibrou-Palanka*, *Rahova*: these are towns *palanké*, situated at the confluence of the water-courses coming from Veliki-Balkan, that is to say, to the points where the right shore, becoming lower, ceases to command the left shore.

Next the Danube reaches *Nicopolis* (now called Nikopol), one of the most ancient cities in this part of European Turkey. Founded by the Emperor Trajan, it was, during the late war, reduced to ashes by the Russians (15th of July, 1877), after a terrible cannonade and a sanguinary engagement. There are many historical traditions connected with Nicopolis, especially in relation to the interminable wars between the Crescent and the Cross which convulsed Europe during the Middle Ages, but the most celebrated event with which its name is associated is the disastrous defeat of Sigismond, King of Hungary, in 1396, by the Turks under Sultan Bajazet. The Turk meditated no less than the entire conquest of Europe, and might have succeeded, had not Tamerlane, the victorious Mogul, arrested his progress by catching him alive, and exhibiting him in a kind of grilled litter, like a wild beast. Unfortunately for Christendom, Tamerlane was only roused to fury after Bajazet had acquired the reputation of being the greatest warrior of the age, and on the fatal field of Nicopolis had trampled on the Cross, and defeated a confederate army of 100,000 Christians. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismond, finding protection in the united fleet of the Venetian and Rhodian crusaders, was conveyed safely to Dalmatia, whence he returned, after a long circuit, to his exhausted kingdom. Before its recent destruction by the Russians, Nicopolis contained 10,000 inhabitants, and carried on a brisk commerce, its position at the confluence of the Osma and opposite to that of the Alouta being an important one. It is surrounded by lofty hills, and is, or rather was, one of the most picturesque places along the whole course of the Danube. Nicopolis was taken by the Russians in 1810, and almost entirely laid in ruins, and was again taken by them in 1820. The Grand Duke Nicholas intended, it is said, to construct here a solid bridge, which should serve as the main throughfare for the Russian troops during the recent war. Opposite, upon the Wallachian shore, stands the small town of *Tourna* or Tournu Mangareli, formerly the bridge-head of Nicopolis,

and which the Russians dismantled after the campaign of 1829. By that town the Turks dominated the great valley of the Alouta, whilst, by Nicopolis, they guarded the outlet of the Balkan route, which passes through the defile of Gabrova.

After Nicopolis, the river flows on to *Sistova*, a town of 10,000 inhabitants, with some manufactures and an ancient *enceinte* flanked by towers. It was captured and laid in ruins by the Russians in 1810. Below this place, the Danube, which from Widdin has its course from west to east without much winding, begins to turn northwards; it thus reaches *Rustchuk*, one of the four great Turkish strongholds which form the quadrilateral. This is the strongest and most extensive of the fortifications on the right bank of the Danube, and as it is situated at precisely that part of the river at which the Russians want to cross, they have spared no pains to ensure its destruction. Rustchuk is, however, by no means the neglected and dilapidated fortress it was some two years ago, but the centre of a powerful system of works, heavily armed and well-manned, and its capture would, in any case, be an arduous enterprise. It stands at the mouth of the Kara-Lom, which at this point empties itself into the Danube, at the issue of the great Russian highway to Constantinople by Jassy and Bucharest, and the two chief roads over the Balkans. The town contained until lately 30,000 inhabitants, and possesses several very beautiful mosques and baths, several of these buildings dating long anterior to that of the Ottoman invasion and settlement in the fifteenth century, while the modern buildings prove that the place is very flourishing. Its prosperity has been brought about by the industry of the Christian portion of the population. The Bulgarians are an industrious race, and here, in Rustchuk, they have established cotton, silk, linen, and worsted mills, while the cultivation of tobacco is one of the most prosperous industries in the province. At no point along the Danube have the Russians and Turks been face to face in greater numbers than at Rustchuk and Giurgevo, on the opposite shore, for it so happens that

only at this point are there towns exactly facing each other on different sides of the Danube. Giurgevo, a Wallachian town, which was the bridge-head of Rustchuk, has played a conspicuous part in all the wars between the Turks and Russians; it was dismantled after the war of 1829. The Russians seized upon Rustchuk in 1810, after a very long siege, several assaults and a battle won by them at *Battin*, a village situated near the Danube, midway between Sistova and Rustchuk.

Below Rustchuk, the river, which has flowed hitherto in a single bed and intersected by islands, begins to form large deviations on either shore from its main stream which inundate the country to an extent of from fifteen to twenty kilometres. The right bank continues to command the left: the former being skirted by the lowest slopes of the Bulgarian mountains, which terminate in picturesque hills; the latter is bordered by a low, swampy tract, intersected by secondary arms or pools of stagnant water, alternating with wooded islands or covered with gigantic reeds. The Danube further on resumes its single bed and reaches *Tourtoukai*, a small town situated facing the confluence of the Ardjich, and which has been recently fortified on account of its remarkable position: it connects, in fact, the two great strongholds of Rustchuk and Silistria, and stands exactly at the point at which, between those two places, the banks are equally low and present points where crossing over is easily effected, especially from the left to the right shore. Opposite, near the confluence of the Ardjich, and at some distance from the Danube, stands the Wallachian village of *Oltenitza*, which, in all the wars, has been signalized as the most convenient point for crossing from Wallachia into Bulgaria. The Turks, at the commencement of the last war, momentarily seized that station and fought there a remarkable engagement.

The Danube next reaches *Silistria*, one of the four great strongholds forming the quadrilateral, at the issue of the principal route of the Balkans by Shumla, from which it is distant between fifty and sixty miles. It has a second

name, being sometimes called Dristria; has a population of some 20,000 or 25,000 in times of peace; is in general poorly built, but having several handsome mosques and baths, and it carries on a considerable commerce.

As its position would lead one to expect, it has at different times been very strongly fortified. It is surrounded by a semi-circular wall, flanked by towers, and is protected on the south by a line of redoubts connected with a strong fortress. It has always been looked upon as one of the chief military centres of the province, and, indeed, it gives its name to one of the three divisions into which, for governmental purposes Bulgaria is divided, the other two being Widdin and Nissa. In previous wars with Turkey the Russian generals have made it one of their first objects to obtain possession of Silistria, and in the war of 1828–9 it was captured and held by them for several years as a pledge for the payment of a large sum by way of indemnity; but eventually they thought best to return it. Again, in 1854, Silistria was besieged by the Russians, who were 30,000 strong, under the command of Prince Paskiewitch. They delivered many assaults, in the course of one of which the Prince was wounded and obliged to retire, while during another, Mussa Pacha, the Turkish general was killed. On the 13th of June, a grand assault took place under the command of Prince Gortschakoff and General Schilders, which was vigorously and successfully repelled. Two days afterwards the garrison assumed the offensive, crossed the river, defeated the Russians, and totally destroyed their siege works. This put an end to the investment of the place, as the gallant Omar Pacha was drawing near, and the Russians were obliged to retreat. The garrison were ably helped by two British officers, Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, the former of whom was killed, while the latter was deservedly promoted to a majority.

During, however, the late campaign, Silistria did not come very much to the front, but, commanding as it does, the key to so many strategical points, it was likely at any moment to be the scene of events of the highest import-

ance to the ultimate issues of the war. Rustchuk, Silistria, and Schumla form a very remarkable triangle, which constitutes, in a manner, the citadel of Turkey in front of the Balkans.

After Silistria, the river continues to direct its course northwards, and its overflowings recommence. The most considerable takes the name of *Berchlcha*, skirting the true Danube for twenty-five leagues and ordinarily distant from it some six to eight leagues, it re-unites itself thereto here and there by great arms forming marshy islands: all the left shore as far Hirschova is unnavigable. The stream passes thus upon the right bank to *Rassova*, a small town defended by an ill-constructed *enceinte* in front of which are inaccessible morasses. It is conjectured that at a far distant period, the Danube having reached this point, continued its course direct from west to east, to discharge itself into the sea at the little port of Kustendji, from which it is distant only some fifteen leagues; but, as it is bordered on the right by a series of low hills, and that there is at Kustendji not the slightest trace of a delta or a mouth, it is more probable that the river has always had the mouth which it still has at the present time, seeing that it is fifty miles distant from Rassova.

After Rassova, the river descends directly towards the north, its waters creeping sluggishly along over low flats, where its different arms have not distinct beds, but form inextricable morasses; the left bank is entirely uninhabited; the right, less marshy, is bordered by a causeway. Thus it reaches *Hirsova*, a town defended by a weak fortress, taken by the Russians in 1809, in 1828, and in 1854. Its importance is great, because it stands near the spot where the Berchlcha terminates, and where the Danube resumes its bed: it guards therefore the passages which may be made available on that side.

Below Hirsova, the Danube recommences its great overflowings; it thus reaches *Matchin*, a town defended by an *enceinte* and two weak forts; it was taken by the Russians in 1809, in 1828, and in 1854. Its importance was formerly very great, because it had opposite, but

separated from it by four or five arms of more than ten kilometres in breadth, the stronghold of *Ibraïl* or Braïla, a Wallachian village that served it as a bridge-head, and which was dismantled after the war of 1829. By means of Braïla, the Turks easily turned Wallachia, penetrated into Moldavia, and held all the Lower Danube. It has undergone numerous sieges, for the Russians dare not venture beyond the river without being masters of that advanced place threatening their rear. At present it is merely the chief commercial port of Wallachia, but its position has preserved its importance, and it was there that the Russians effected, in 1854, their principal passages over the Danube.

After Braïla the river resumes its single bed and passes by *Galatz*, situated on the left bank and near the confluence of the Sereth. It is the principal port of Moldavia on the Danube. The Russians crossed the river here in 1854. Then it recommences its overflowings and reaches *Reni*, where it ceases to run towards the North to resume its course from West to East. It then traverses a country inundated to such an extent that the land seems to disappear beneath the waters; the affluents which here join it can only effect their confluence across vast lakes. Nevertheless, it has scarcely more than a single bed when it reaches *Isaktchi*, a town defended by a poor fort, and which is merely a post of observation for the mouths of the river. The same may be said of *Tultcha*, a small fortress near which the Russians crossed the river in 1854. This town had formerly some importance when connected across the seven or eight branches of the Danube with the stronghold of Ismaïl, of which we are about to speak.

Above Tultcha the river divides itself into numerous arms, the three principal of them embracing a vast delta, which belonged, before 1856, to Russia.

The first offset occurs at the Isle of *Tchatal*, where the Danube separates into two great branches: the first, called the *Kilia*, directs its course northwards, passes on to *Ismaïl* and to *Kilia*, two places which command the entire delta of the river. Ismaïl formerly possessed the same impor-

tance for the Turks as Braïla; it has undergone numerous sieges and was taken by assault in 1790 by Souvaroff, who caused its entire population to be massacred. It remained, as well as Kilia, in the power of Russia from 1792 to 1856. The *Kilia* subdivides itself into a great number of other branches, and is navigable only with great difficulty, and at its mouth has merely a depth of one to two metres. The second branch is that of the *Sulina*, which flows to the south-east, and sub-divides itself into the *St. George's* and the *Dounavetze* arms, the latter the most southern, and which falls into the maritime lake of Rassein. The Sulina was formerly easily navigable; it is 200 to 300 metres broad, with a depth of 6 or 7 metres, and falls into the sea by a single bed; but for some time past its mouth has become choked with sand, and blocked with very dangerous shoals, as well as encumbered with islets overgrown with small shrubs and willows, embarrassed even with the wrecks of vessels, and the navigation of the most important river of Europe thus finds itself threatened with extinction. The St. George's arm has a breadth of 150 metres and a depth of 10; but its entrance is entirely choked with sand. As for the Dounavetze, that is not navigable, but might become so with some little labour.

The littoral occupied by the mouths of the Danube has an extent of 138 kilometres. The delta comprises the islands of *Tchatal* and *Leti*, between the Kilia and the Sulina; of the island of *St. George*, between the Sulina and the St. George's; of the island *Portitza*, between the St. George's and the Dounavetze. This delta, although overflowed during some part of the year, is inhabited and well-cultivated, except the Island of Portitza, an expanse of nothing more than sterile sands.

The rectangular peninsula comprehended between the sea and the course of the Danube, from Rassova to Kilia, is called the Dobrudscha. It is a country mostly flat and unhealthy, formed by alluvial deposits and even in part inundated. It would be difficult to find in the whole world a district so little suitable for the movements of

great bodies of troops. The Delta is a conglomeration of channels and branches of the river, bottomless swamps, great tracts of reeds and flags, oak forests so thick that only the axe can force a path through them, and thorn bushes covering an extent of many square miles. Within the Delta, whose soil and waters exhale a deadly vapour, rife with fever, only a few scattered miserable villages are to be found on some of the arms of the rivers and in the neighbourhood of the Sulina forest. Nomad gipsies and hosts of criminals, who have fled from Russia, Roumania, and Turkey, form the majority of the inhabitants; in the town of Sulina, at the mouth of the Sulina arm, the chief population consists of Greeks, and on the Island of St. George, between the Sulina and St. George's arms, Zaparogi (Tschernomorian) Cossacks have founded a settlement on the edge of the Kara Orman (Black Forest), which, however, is not in a very flourishing condition. Close to the left bank of the St. George's arm the Dobrudscha Cossacks possess a few villages. These Cossack tribes, which under Catherine II. were compelled to emigrate on account of their religion (they are Old Believers), have settled partly in Anatolia, but principally in the Dobrudscha, and feel themselves well off under the tolerant rule of the Turks. They have not only retained their religion, but also their language and national costume, and have rendered good service to the Porte in all its wars against Russia, for which in return they were cruelly treated by the Russian soldiers.

The Dobrudscha has been the ordinary route of the great barbarian invasions; it leads, by the lower range of the Balkans, into the basin of the Maritza and upon Constantinople. Thus the Romans had intersected it by a wall and a ditch which went from Rassova to Kustendji, and which was called *vallum Trajani;* the traces of this defence, by which the military line of the Danube found itself rectified and continued, still exist. The Turks rendered it very difficult of access by means of the strongholds of Braila and Ismail, by which they dominated the left bank, perpetually exposed to their attacks. It was by

the Dobrudscha that the Russians invaded the right bank in 1810, in 1829, and in 1854. In the latter war a French *corps d'armée* penetrated therein, but, surprised and decimated by the cholera, it was compelled to make a disastrous retreat, General Espinasse's division losing a fifth of its numbers in a few days; and on two previous occasions armies were led into these unhealthy and pestilential districts only to perish by disease.

This most northern (Kilia) arm of the Danube is protected on the Roumanian bank between Ismaïl—well-known from Byron's "Don Juan" if not from history—and the sea by a swamp from three to eight miles broad, except at the town of Kilia, where a few square miles of firm ground are to be found. Even though a Russian army were to penetrate in winter across the frozen swamp the troops would perish in the cold, as no shelter is to be found for forty miles round. And if it were possible in milder weather to traverse the numerous swamps in the interior of the Delta; to cross at least six small arms of the river, as well as the Sulina, 550 feet broad, and the St. George's arm, 1,400 feet, yet the Russians would still be obliged to march west by Tultscha. In the neighbourhood of the coast there are a few paths running by dreary wastes bearing many traces of shipwrecks; but the ground is lower than the sea, and the traveller sinks at every step up to his knees in water. In a thaw, which, owing to the rapid changes of temperature there, might easily surprise the Russians, their march would be out of the question, and in summer fires amongst the rushes are more frequent than the prairie fires in South America. A troop of Turkish cossacks, by setting fire to the reeds and flags, ten to fifteen feet high, would be sufficient to induce the strongest army of invasion to retreat.

From Tultscha and the Roumanian-Bessarabian fortress of Ismaïl lying opposite to it, up the stream to Rustchuk the Roumanian bank of the Danube is also inapproachable through broad swamps and lakes covered with rushes. The only points at which bridges could be thrown across are at Reni-Tsaktscha, Braila-Macsin, Piopetri-Hirsova,

Kalarasch-Silistria, Oltenitza-Turtukai, and Giurgevo-Rustchuk.

Reni, where the Pruth falls into the Danube, nine miles east of Galatz, is a little unimportant Bessarabian town, that yet possesses somewhat of strategic value. From Odessa, a road leads by Ackerman (near the Dnjestrovskiji Liman) and Tatar Bunar (on the Lake of Kunduk) along Trajan's middle-wall (the Emperor built three for the protection of Mœsia against the inroads of the barbarians) as far as Reni, where there is a bridge across the Pruth, and in connection with this road is another near the village of Nilkeneshti, which runs along Trajan's northern wall from Kischeneff and Bender to Leow, where there is also a bridge over the Pruth, and from there takes a southerly direction. Between Reni and Galatz the left Russian wing crossed the Danube in 1828, after thousands had been engaged from the beginning of May to the beginning of June in constructing a causeway nine miles long, with numerous bridges, through the swamp to the river. The Turks, made aware by the construction of the causeway of the point where the Russians intended to cross the Danube, erected batteries on their side of the river; but they had only nine heavy and twelve light guns to place in them, and at most 2,000 men for their defence. Some of the Russian ships of war put the Turks to flight; on the 9th July the bridge of boats was begun, and on the 11th and 12th the corps of General Rudgewitsch crossed the Danube. Tsaktscha, a fortress scarcely possessing at that time or at present the strength of a fort, capitulated already on the 11th; on the 15th Macsin yielded; and on the 23rd Hirsova. From Tsaktscha, whose guns on the 23rd of October, 1853, put to flight with heavy losses a Russian steam flotilla laden with a park of artillery, provisions, and ammunition, a highway leads directly south through the Dobrudscha by Babadagh and Hadchi-Oglou-Bazardchik to Varna and Shumla; and from Tultscha, Macsin, and Hirsova country roads join it. Macsin and Hirsova are very small fortresses, which, even if the ruined works were put into repair and armed with Krupp cannon,

would scarcely be able to stand a siege for a week. Their only military value consisted in their being in a certain measure outworks of Braïla. This last-named town was formerly an important fortress; it made an heroic defence against the Russians in 1828, although the garrison consisted of only 3,000 men, and fell at last after two months' siege by treachery. In 1853 the Russians repeatedly tried from Braïla to gain possession of the crossing at Macsin, but as all their attacks were made with small numbers, they were repulsed. During these encounters the enemy always tried by cutting down the brushwood on the banks and islands to lessen the difficulties of the terrain. At last, in the spring of 1854, the Russians succeeded in crossing the river. The fortifications of Braïla, an *enceinte* with five bastions, were razed to the ground, and now it is protected by ramparts of earth. Braïla numbers about 35,000 inhabitants; the wretched suburbs lie low, but the town and fortress are situated on the boundary of the valley, which, though not very high, rises abruptly from the Danube, about 500 paces from the bank. After the peace of Adrianople, 1829, a small Bulgarian colony settled there, which in the dispute about the supremacy of the Greeks in the Oriental church played a conspicuous part. In November, 1853, Halil Pacha made a feint from Hirsova of crossing the Danube and taking Braïla, in order to compel Prince Gortschakoff to recall his troops, and so give the garrison of Widdin time to fortify the Roumanian village.

South of Hirsova the mountains of the Dobrudscha lie close to the Danube, and are difficult to cross, while all approach to the left bank is prevented by the swampy island of the Balta, in some places ten miles broad. On the heights is the third of Trajan's walls, parallel with the railway of Crnavoda to Kustendji, or from the river to the Black Sea. Still further south, the middle of the Dobrudscha forms a hollow between the above-mentioned heights and the spurs of the Balkans, and where this hollow approaches the Danube lies the famous old fortress of Silistria, opposite the Roumanian town of Kalarasch, which,

on account of the swamp, lies about six miles distant from the river on a strip of land between the island of the Balta and the lake. Silistria enjoys the reputation of being the most beautiful town on the Danube. The strategic importance of its position is sufficiently proved by the fact that it arose out of the old Roman town of Durostorum, and under the name of Drster played an important part in the history of the Bulgarian Empire. The leaders of the Bulgarian hordes, who subjected the Sclavic races of the Balkan Peninsula, chose it as their capital, and here also resided the first Patriarch of the independent Bulgarian Church, and later, after the destruction of the first Bulgarian Empire, the Metropolitan of the bishoprics lying between the Danube and the Balkan. In the wars between the Bulgarians and Greeks and the Bulgarians and Magyars, as well as in the inroads of the Ptschenegi and Kumanes, the possession of Drster was often disputed, but its most important part was played in the bold march of Svjatoslav, the Prince of the Russians, who in 967 conquered the town, and then, by the same route that General Diebitsch took in 1829, penetrated across the Balkan, stormed Adrianople, and caused a dreadful massacre there. But the Greek Emperor, Joannes Tzimisches, an Armenian, was not, like the Sultan Mahmud, induced to conclude a hasty peace; he attacked and defeated Svjatoslav, forced him back to the Danube, besieged him in Drster, and compelled him to capitulate. In 1388 Drster was taken by the Sultan Amurath; in 1392 it fell into the hands of the Wallachian Prince Marcea, but was soon incorporated, like all the rest of Bulgaria, into the Turkish Empire by the Sultan Bajazet. About the year 1418 it came into the possession of a communistic sect, formed of Christians and Mahometans, which, however, was soon destroyed. The town now flourished, and had a rich colony from Ragusa. In 1810 it was taken by the Russian General, Count Nicholas Kamenski; in 1812 his successor, Count Kutuzow, razed the fortress to the ground. In 1828 Silistria was besieged, first by the Russian General, Count Benkendorf, then by General Roth, later by Generals Scherbatow and Langeron,

and finally by Prince Wittgenstein. As the Russians had crossed the Danube at Tsaktscha, the town was besieged from the Bulgarian side, but all efforts to take it, from the 21st of July to the 10th of November, being unsuccessful, the siege was then raised, and during the winter a corps encamped at Kalarasch were charged to keep watch over it. On the 8th of May, 1829, the Russians again crossed the Danube at Hirsova; but the roads being partially destroyed by inundations, they only reached Silistria on the 17th, and threw a bridge of boats across the stream below the town. Although the siege was carried on with extraordinary energy by General Krasowski, the town only capitulated on the 30th of June. How in 1854 the fame of the conqueror of Erivan suffered before the walls of Silistria is still fresh in the memory of all. Silistria is protected by the Danube on the north, in which, as has been said, only the defile of Kalarasch leads, and eight miles east of the fortress lies the Lake of Galitza, between which and the Danube there is a great swamp; an approach to the fortress is, therefore, only possible from the south and west, where the town is surrounded by vineyards. Silistria is enclosed by a simple wall, with ten little bastions, which are so far apart that they could not support one another; but now on the heights which command the town, and from which in former sieges the Russians bombarded it, four strong redoubts have been erected, Arab Tabia, Ordon Tabia, Yalen Tabia, and the great fortification of Abdul Medjid. The two first have their front to the south. Twenty-five thousand men are necessary to garrison the fortress, and even under the most favourable circumstances a three months' resistance is certain. The islands in the Danube below the fortress are Turkish, and would certainly be occupied, so that it would be impossible to cross there.

The swamps on the left bank of the Danube, which, close to Kalarasch, are twelve miles broad, become gradually narrower up the stream, and at Oltenitza, at the mouth of the Artschik, they cease entirely. Opposite Oltenitza lies the little Turkish town of Turtukai. Here, at a dis-

tance of only thirty-five miles from Bucharest, is the most vulnerable point of the Turkish Danube line. Turtukai lies on the lowest ledge of the terrace-like Bulgarian mountains; the ledge is here sixty feet high and close to the river, while the Roumanian bank is flat; but the town is small, only protected by a few redoubts; it is further from Rustchuk and Silistria than from Bucharest, and is only connected with Shumla by a miserable country road *viâ* Rasgrad. Opposite the town, but rather above it, lies a Roumanian island, and this would greatly facilitate the crossing of the river. The Russians might occupy the island in the night, throw up fortifications, and then with heavy guns lay Turtukai in ruins, and having conquered it they would be able to attack Silistria and Rustchuk in the rear. In 1809 the Russians crossed the Danube there, and in 1853 both Prince Gortschakoff and Omar Pacha recognized the importance of this point. Gortschakoff advanced his centre from Bucharest on the roads to Giurgevo and Oltenitza, and on the 1st and 2nd of November the Turks attempted the passage of the river at both these places. At Oltenitza the passage succeeded. The Turks entrenched themselves, and were attacked on the 4th by Gortschakoff with great superiority of numbers; Omar Pacha, however, defeated the attack successfully. On the 12th of November the Turks left the right bank of the river, after having destroyed the bridge over the Artschik, the quarantine building, and their own fortifications, and in the spring of 1854 Omar Pacha withdrew to Shumla, and left the passage across the Danube open to Russia.

The position of Giurgevo-Rustchuk is destined to play an important part in Russian invasion. Giurgevo, connected by a railway and highway with Bucharest, is twenty-two miles distant from the Roumanian capital, and numbers about 20,000 inhabitants. In 1416 it was conquered by Mahomet I., and belonged till 1829 to Turkey. Till then it was the fortified *tête-de-pont* of Rustchuk; in 1829 the fortifications were razed to the ground by the Russians. In 1853, the Turks tried in vain from Rustchuk to take the town, which lies on a plain twenty to

forty feet above the river, but could only gain possession of the island of Mokan lying before it, where the remains of the fortifications erected by them are still to be seen. The following winter the Russians attempted unsuccessfully to drive the Turks from Mokan. Rustchuk, the capital of the Danube provinces, is a Turkish creation, and very much younger than its existence is the history of the town, which till its obstinate defence against the Russians, under Count Nicholas Kamenski (1810), had played no part worth mentioning. In 1812, Kutusoff destroyed the fortifications, in 1828 and 1829 the town was not molested, and in 1853 the battles for the island of Mokan took place. The fortress stands on the plateau, which rises abruptly 50 to 100 feet high from the river, at twenty to eighty paces from it. Enclosed by a wall, and in some places by moats, it yet appears little capable of any great resistance, but is rendered unapproachable on the west by the Balta (lake) Mairu, on the Roumanian bank of the Danube, which runs here from south-west to north-east, and also by the river itself and its tributary, the Lom (not to be confounded with the river of that name in West-Bulgaria). It can, therefore, only be attacked from the north-east and south, and there well-armed fortifications have been constructed, pledges of an obstinate resistance hereafter. As redoubt, a strong citadel serves, and it commands the whole town, the Danube with its islands, and even the low-lying portions of Giurgevo.

If the chief points in the foregoing picture be now enumerated of the eastern third of the Roumelian moat, the only places at which the passage of the Danube could be successfully attempted are between Reni and Galatz, at Braïla, opposite Hirsova, and at Oltenitza. The approach to the swampy bank, if a severe frost did not come to the help of the Russians, can only be very slow and accompanied by enormous difficulties in crossing the swamps and arms of the river, and marching along narrow strips of solid ground in the midst of this watery region. The Turkish positions at the points of the river most likely to be forced are fortified in such a manner, and if possessed of sufficient

troops, to hold out, at least, for a few days, and as the different positions are connected by telegraph, 30,000 to 40,000 men could be concentrated at any point within that time. The Russians can only use the fourth part of their army to force the whole length of the Danube from Rustchuk to the Black Sea, a distance of 600 miles; for they must occupy their *étapes* and the most important places in Roumania, and at the same time must force the two other divisions of the Danube so as not to be threatened in the rear. From the Crnavoda-Kustendji line the Dobrudscha stretches towards the north like a peninsula, so that the route from the Delta to Kischeneff is much shorter than from the future to the late head-quarters of the Russian army. It is true the latter have the advantage of the railway from Galatz to Orsova in their rear, and the offensive is open to them—that is, the free choice of the object of attack; yet, in spite of this, the Russians would scarcely be able to commence operations at any one point with more than 60,000 men which, opposed to a Turkish force half as strong, would be unable to force a passage across the broad stream. The chances would be very different, a competent authority states, if the Roumanian army guarded Little Wallachia west of the river Aluta, Austria prevented the Turks from entering Roumania, and Servia forced the Timok line. Then, certainly, the Russians would be able to effect the passage of the river with 150,000 men, but after crossing the greatest difficulties would begin. In the winter of 1828 the Russians, although they had conquered Varna and were at least four times superior in numbers to the Turks, were obliged to retreat to Bessarabia, as they were threatened in the rear by the garrison of Silistria. In 1854 the passage of the river had no effect, as Silistria could not be conquered. As long as Silistria and Rustchuk are not taken or closely surrounded, the Russians, at the most then 100,000 strong, could not begin the march to the Balkan. For all the roads from the towns on the whole of the long Danube line from Rustchuk downwards, except that from Rustchuk to Tirnova, run concentrically to the line of Shumla-

Varna, the first wall of the Roumelian fortress, whose extreme points, according to human calculations, would not be taken till after they had at least been besieged half a year. During all that time the Russian troops would be compelled to remain encamped in the unhealthy, badly-cultivated Dobrudscha, which being chiefly inhabited by Mahometans, would be abandoned by them in time of war, and would be still more incapable than Roumania of furnishing sufficient provisions for the army. Behind this first wall lies a second moat—the River Kamtschyk, which flows parallel with the Balkan from west to east. Then comes the third wall, the Balkan itself, which is here divided into three chains, having only five passes, two of which are only passable for sumpter mules; and finally, the line Mesembria Aidos-Karnabad-Stivno, of which the fortress of Burgas forms, in a certain manner, the citadel. These several lines of defence, together with two rochade lines formed by the railway, cannot be broken through by the whole of the Russian forces as long as Turkey remains mistress of the Black Sea.

Less attention than it deserves has been given to the fact that the Emperor Alexander has always bitterly lamented the cession of the Bessarabian districts at the mouth of the Danube, which Russia was obliged to part with on signing the Treaty of Paris, and that on this point he has always enjoyed the full sympathy of Prince Gortschakoff. Russia gained possession of the territory in question at the end of the last century, after Souvaroff's celebrated campaign against the Turks. In subsequent campaigns she severed the connection between Moldo-Wallachia and Turkey, with the exception of that feeble link which still bound the United Principalities to their suzerain until the late Turko-Russian war, and which binds Roumania to the Sultan even now; for Prince Charles of Hohenzollern is still in the position, not of an independent sovereign, but of a vassal rebelling against his chief. The effect of Souvaroff's victories was to advance the strategic frontier of Russia to the Danube; though the Turks, until after the war of 1828–9 still retained some fortresses on the left

or northern bank of the river. After 1829, the Turkish fortresses north of the Danube had to be abandoned, so that in future campaigns against the "natural enemy" Russia would at once be able to commence operations at the line of the Danube. By the Crimean war, however, Russia found her progress towards Constantinople arrested and her course reversed. To their infinite mortification the Russians had to give up Ismaïl and certain districts at the mouth of the Danube, including the mouths themselves to Moldavia; and though this cession was of no advantage to Turkey, it seemed favourable to European interests, since it took the outlets of the Danube from under Russian control. This loss of territory has been a sore point with various classes of Russians throughout the present reign. The Emperor Alexander's immediate predecessors had advanced gradually but steadily over Turkish soil, and the sovereign now wearing the Russian crown has been the first to retreat. This has been a source of mortification to the whole Imperial family.

4. *Wallachia and Moldavia* (*Roumania*).

We are about to describe the affluents on the left of the Danube, that is to say, those the basins of which comprise Wallachia and Moldavia.

These affluents present two distinct aspects. Those of Wallachia, descending from very lofty mountains, have their upper portion edged with savage-looking crests: they traverse deep gorges, wooded defiles deeply cut into ravines by torrents, and also green and fertile valleys; but the reverse slopes of the Carpathians being on this side very steep and unextended, these affluents fall abruptly into the level country; starting with a line which runs from Tchernetz by Crajova, Slatina, and Tergowitz to Bouzeo, they subside suddenly into a kind of Asiatic Steppe, entirely flat and open, where the forests have given place to pastures, where only a few bushes are sparsely found, where the soil is as fertile as it is monotonous, where only at long

distances wretched villages and few inhabitants are to be met with.

The affluents of Moldavia descend from mountains of lower elevation; but they are bordered, for the greater part of their course, by gently-sloping and rounded hills, covered with vineyards and orchards; the country adjacent is thinly populated, badly cultivated, but it is less uninteresting, more undulating, and it is only in proximity to the sea that the bare, vast plains and morasses are encountered.

All this country might, with labour, be made one of the gardens of Europe. Fertile in corn, wine, timber and pasturage, possessing mineral wealth, magnificent flocks, it only requires repose to become peopled and prosperous. Its climate is unhealthy in the vicinity of the Danube, and colder than comports with the latitude, by reason of the extensive steppes, where nothing arrests the force of the north-east winds or from Asia; the thermometer there falls to twenty-six degrees, and ice is permanent during nearly four months.

The affluents of the left bank of the Danube are: 1. The *Schyl*, which has its source in the heart of the Carpathians on the plateau of Transylvania, of which we shall hereafter speak; it emerges therefrom by the Vulkan defile, traverses a country where the wooded mountains slope gradually into hills covered with pastures and vineyards, watering *Tirgochil* or *Tirgojioul*, a small town of no celebrity or importance; then it receives numerous affluents and passes near *Crajova*, the chief town of Little Wallachia, with 9,000 inhabitants, important by its commerce and position, at the issue of the Carpathian high roads upon the only practicable route which connects Widdin with Bucharest. Crajova, which was formerly the seat of an independent Banat, is no longer fortified, and, from its poverty and the dilapidated condition of its dwellings, has the appearance of a large village. All the country, but especially the banks of the Schyl, were horribly devastated in the war of 1828. Thus till recently they were, despite their extreme fertility, uncultivated and almost uninhabited.

The war of 1854 changed that beautiful valley into a desert. The Schyl terminates opposite Rahova: it is not navigable.

2. The *Alouta*, also called the *Alt* and the *Olto*, takes its source on the western reverse of the Carpathians at Makos; it flows through the plateau of Transylvania, at first from north to south, afterwards from east to west, for fifty leagues: then, instead of taking the direction of Maros, whither its primitive inclination would seem to urge it, it turns abruptly south towards the Carpathian chain; there it meets with or makes for itself, near Mount Szurul, a breach of more than 400 metres in depth, into which it precipitates itself. This defile is forty kilometres in length, and opens the famous route of *Rothen-Thurm* (Red Tower), the principal communication of Wallachia with Transylvania, or of Bucharest with Hermanstadt. The valley of the Alouta, running from north to south, remains narrow and deep as far as *Rimnik*, where it begins to widen; it opens into a plain at *Slatina*, a small town situated on the road from Widdin to Bucharest; finally, after having received several affluents, the Alouta divides itself into several arms, and terminates near Nicopolis. It is an important river from its width, the encasement of its banks and the difficulty of its fords. It separates Little from Great Wallachia, and its banks have been the theatre of several encounters, in the wars of 1789 and 1828.

3. The *Vedea*, augmented by the *Telioman*, a large but unimportant river, which traverses an almost entirely desert country, ravaged during the war of 1854. Throughout its basin, and generally upon the whole route which unites Crajova to Bucharest, neither villages nor cultivated lands are met with; at long intervals a few subterranean huts are alone seen, in which a miserable and rickety population vegetates, or perhaps some wicker cabins which their nomad owners transport from pasture to pasture.

4. The *Ardjich* or *Argis* descends from the eastern reverse of the Carpathians, waters *Ardjich*, a small town situated at the outlet of the *Tour-Rouge* road to Bucharest; then it flows through a flat country poorly culti-

vated and thinly inhabited, without passing by any remarkable localities, and terminates below Oltenitza, opposite *Turtukaï*. It receives the *Domboviza*, which runs parallel to the Ardjich, and waters *Bucuresci*, or Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, the population of which exceeds 60,000. This city, situated in a vast plain, resembles somewhat an immense village intersected by large gardens, irregular and unpaved streets, in which decayed dwellings and good modern hotels stand side by side, where out of doors oriental customs prevail, and in doors the manners and civilization of the West. It carries on an extensive commerce, and has an important position on the high road between Russia and Constantinople, equidistant from Rustchuk and Silistria. Although not fortified, it is not the less, by its situation in the centre of Great Wallachia, an excellent point of concentration for an army threatening the right bank of the Danube.

5. The *Jalomnitza* waters *Turgowitz*, the ancient residence of the Wallachian Hospodars, now reduced to 5,000 inhabitants, with dilapidated ramparts. It receives the *Telesin* and the *Rahova*, traverses a country of vast plains, fertile and populous, and terminates in the great overflowings of the Danube above Hirsova.

6. The *Sereth* takes its source in the Carpathians, and traverses the *Bukovina*, a province forcibly wrested from Wallachia, and which now forms part of the Austrian Empire; the river enters Moldavia at *Sereth*, flows through a level valley, here and there fertile and elsewhere marshy, waters *Roman*, a small town, the name of which indicates its ancient origin, receives the *Moldava*, the *Rimmik*, the *Bouzeo* and other watercourses which come from the Carpathians; the last of these affluents is the *Milkov*, which runs near *Fokschani*, a commercial town of 12,000 inhabitants. Finally, the Sereth terminates near Galatz. This great river is of no importance save at the lower part of its course, where it occupies the narrow spaces comprised between the Carpathians and the Danube, and forms with the Milkov the boundary between Moldavia and Wallachia. It is therefore necessarily crossed by all the inva-

sions and armies of the North; but its banks are low, its fords numerous, and it possesses no fortified town: it has never therefore presented an obstacle.

7. The *Pruth* takes its source in that part of the Carpathians which is called Mount Czorna; it flows at first through a valley deeply hollowed out, where it waters *Czernowitz*, the capital of Buckovina, a commercial city of 10,000 inhabitants; then it traverses the Buckovina, a fertile, well-wooded and picturesque country, well-populated, and which covers the Austrian provinces over against Russia; then it runs through a plain, is navigable to *Podoloni*, receives the *Baglui*, a muddy stream which passes *Jassy*, the capital of Moldavia, with 40,000 inhabitants. It is a commercial city, unfortified, having the semi-savage, semi-ostentatious aspect of Bucharest; it has no military importance, and, being the frontier, is continually open to Russian invasion. The Pruth next passes not far from *Husch*, where Peter the Great was surrounded with his army by the Turks, in 1711. Finally, after having traversed wide plains almost entirely desert, it terminates at *Reni*. This river forms the boundary between the Ottoman Empire and Russia; but it has only a very mediocre importance, being incapable of serving as a barrier of defence. Numerous battles have been fought on its banks, but its stream has always been easily crossed. Moreover, it is only since 1812 that it has served as the boundary of Moldavia; before that period the limit was the Dniester, a river of difficult access, difficult to cross, and which was then guarded by numerous strongholds.

The mountains or range of heights which form the orographic belt of the left bank of the Danube are:—

1. The *Eastern Carpathians*—a portion of the vast semi-circular chain which, quitting the sources of the Vistula, and stretching as far as the defile of Orsova upon the Danube, separates Hungary from the countries to the north. The Carpathians are mountains of some 2,000 metres in height, massive, steep, and wooded, rent by deep and savage gorges, accessible only by paths which are formed by breaches or gigantic crevasses. Those

chasms are the characteristic feature of these mountains: hollowed to a depth of 300 metres, they serve as channels to the rivers which water the Transylvanian plateau, and although the primitive declivity of these rivers directs them towards the north-east, or the third basin of the Danube, they are carried away to the south-east, or into the fourth basin. These mountains contain great mineral riches, but which are worked to very little profit.

The Eastern Carpathians, by their semi-circular sweep, and the vast plateau which they enclose, present one of the most formidable military positions in the world. It is an enormous bastion which projects itself between Moldavia and Wallachia, taking in flank the one and the other of these two provinces, threatening and commanding all the country comprised between the Carpathians and the Danube. Moldo-Wallachia (now Roumania) has not always been restricted to the narrow limits which enclose it at present: formerly known as the ancient *Dacia*, which comprehended Bessarabia, Transylvania, the Banat, and which had for boundaries the Theiss and Dneister; then the table-land of the Carpathians was a sort of citadel, in which the population took refuge, and which had long been the seat of its independence. But at the present moment that Transylvania, and even the Bukovina, belong to Austria, that Russia possesses the Dniester and a bank of the Pruth, Wallachia, and Moldavia (or the United Principalities now called Roumania) form eccentric possessions of the Ottoman Empire, and are no longer defensible.

2. The remainder of the orographic belt of the Danube is formed by a line of heights which runs between the Pruth and the Dneister, sinks down at first into hills, then into plains, and, lastly, becomes blended with the sea-shore. No other natural obstacles, therefore, oppose themselves to the penetration of the Ottoman Empire, save the Pruth and the Sereth, which have never yet stopped the march of an army. All the country is uniformly flat, and this physical characteristic is that of the entire littoral of the Black Sea, from the mouths of the

Danube to the Caucasus; this littoral, to a breadth of forty to fifty leagues, consisting solely of vast plains, sometimes fertile, sometimes cultivated, being the commencement of the Asiatic steppes. These plains have been the highway of all the invasions of the Asiatic peoples during ten centuries. It was by this route the Goths, Huns, Slavs, Tartars, &c., came; and it has been by this route that Russia for the last 150 years has directed its efforts against the Ottoman Empire. As for Moldo-Wallachia (Roumania), the succinct account above given of its geography testifies to its political importance and the sufferings it has had to undergo. There are few countries, few populations which have been worse treated, more trodden upon, more tortured; their history is one long martyrdom, and when the monotonous narrative of devastations and massacres is perused, the reader wonders that any inhabitants remain therein, or a few corners of cultivated land are to be seen.

Wallachia has a territory of 7,150 square myriametres (about 44,687 square miles), and a population of 4,500,000 inhabitants. Moldavia has a territory of 3,135 square myriametres (about 19,593 square miles), and a population of 1,500,000 inhabitants.

These two countries are inhabited by a peculiar race, which descends from the ancient *Dacians*, mingled with numerous Roman penal colonists, whom Trajan introduced into that country after having conquered it, and which is equally spread through the Bukovina, Bessarabia and Hungary, to the number of 1,700,000 to 1,800,000 inhabitants, which raises the figure of the Wallachians to nearly 6,000,000. They are generally strong, handsome and intelligent, but also careless, dirty, vindictive, pleasure-loving, and debased by suffering. They hold the Greek religion. The Roman colonies have left there traces so deep, that Roumania presents a philological phenomenon which appears unique in history. Placed upon the highway of invasions, traversed, conquered, devastated by twenty different peoples, surrounded by the Slav, Magyar, and Tartar races, it has preserved its language, derived from

the Latin, and which it calls "the golden tongue,"—a language which, to the melody and softness of the Italian, has some points of resemblance to the old *langue d'oc*. For the Wallachian peasants, the country is still the *Zara roumana*, the *Roman Land;* they take pride in calling themselves *Roumouni*, Romans, and the ardent desire, the favourite dream, the political passion of all the Wallachian youth was to behold, one day, the six millions of men who speak the "golden tongue" reunited under a single domination—*Roumania*, which should serve as a barrier between Russia, Austria, and Turkey.

The Moldavs and Wallachs submitted to the Ottoman Power at the end of the fifteenth century, and paid tribute, but they never came under its direct rule. They never had an Ottoman pacha as governor over them, but were ruled by their native Hospodars until 1720. Owing to incessant internal broils the Sublime Porte interfered, and replaced these native princes by Greeks of the Fanar, who, in their turn, were suppressed by Sultan Mahmoud II. for participation in the Greek War of Independence. Natives were again appointed until the last Hospodar, Couza, was deposed, as already stated, by his discontented subjects, and the present ruler, Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen elected in his place in 1866. Up to 1631 the armed forces of the two Principalities consisted, besides the Hospodarial body-troops, few in number, of a militia for border and internal service, called Graniceri and Dorobanzi. After that year the military force was reorganized into regular and irregular troops, the latter still retaining the old designations of Graniceri and Dorobanzi, and the total armed strength of the two Principalities amounting to a little over 23,000 men. In 1859 Prince Couza again reorganized the military power of the Danubian Principalities, as they were then called. He introduced the French law of conscription, fixed the period of service at six years for the regular army, and increased the total strength to 34,000 men. After the accession of Prince Charles, the Roumanian Chambers voted yet another new law of organization, which completely altered

the character of the army, and still further added to its strength. This law, modified by succeeding ones passed in 1872 and 1876, forms the basis of the existing organization and composition of the Roumanian army. The chief object kept in view in the new system was to render the army mobile enough to take the field in a war of aggression, instead of being solely, as heretofore, a machine for national defence. The Prussian model was adopted for the new organization, and everything French introduced by Prince Couza was discarded.

The war strength of Roumania on paper amounts to 100,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and 50 batteries of artillery; of which, perhaps, about 60,000 can be placed in the field. It is well not to be over-sanguine about their efficiency, as the Government lacks money, and the armament, transport, and administration are extremely bad.

5. *Bosnia.*

We are about to describe the affluents on the right of the Danube which belong to the Ottoman Empire, and the basins of which comprise the provinces of Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria.

1. The *Save*, which finds its source in the Carnic Alps and traverses a portion of the Austrian States, enters upon Ottoman territory where it joins the Unna, and takes a direction from west to east, serving as a boundary to the two Empires of Austria and Turkey to the end of its course. It is a wide river, seldom rapid, flanked on the right by strong escarpments, and on the left by plains and marshes. It waters, in Turkey—*Berbir*, a small place situate opposite the Austrian town of Gradiska; *Czabatz*, a fortified town, at the confluence of the Drina; *Belgrade*, of which we have already spoken, and where it throws itself into the Danube. The Save is, in a military point of view, an important line, and wholly to the advantage of Turkey, on account of the mountainous country which borders it, and upon whose importance we shall shortly speak. As

the left shore is entirely dominated by these countries, Austria has studded it with military colonies, which form a barrier against Ottoman invasion. It is owing to the point which the Save makes with its affluents, between the Austrian provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, that the Turks have on several occasions invaded Austria and have appeared before Vienna.

The affluents of the Save in Turkey descend from the Dinaric Alps. They are torrent-like rivers, broken into falls, traversing deep, wooded valleys, which present the most picturesque sites, rich in pasturages and fertile fields.

1. The *Unna* rises at the foot of Mount Chator, serves in part as a boundary between Turkey and Austria, and waters three small places which are the very insufficient keys of Bosnia: *Bihacz*, the chief place of Turkish Croatia, *Novi* and *Dubicza*. The Unna receives at Novi the *Sanna*, which descends from Mount Dinara, and opens a road to the interior of Bosnia (that from Trieste to Constantinople), defended by the forts of Kosaratz and Priedor, situated upon the Sanna.

2. The *Verbas* passes by *Scopia*, a small town defended, like almost all those of Bosnia, by a small, crumbling fort; by *Jaicza*, the old capital of Bosnia, and which has undergone numerous sieges; by *Banyaluka*, an important town of 10,000 inhabitants, defended by a large fortress. The Verbas receives the *Plicva*, the magnificent falls of which are one of the natural wonders of Bosnia, and which is defended by the fort of *Ghul-Hissar*.

3. The *Bosna* rises in a plain intersected by woods and rivulets, which belongs to the slopes of the Ivan mountains; it passes not far from *Bosna-Seraï*, the capital of Bosnia, with 70,000 inhabitants. This city is situated on the declivities of mountains rich in iron mines, and on the summit of which stands a strong citadel; the rich plain which borders it, the abundance of its streams, the beauty of its climate, constitute it one of the most famous localities of Turkey. At a distance from its picturesque site it presents a most inviting aspect; but it is dirty and ill-

built. Three-fourths of the inhabitants are Turks remarkable for their comeliness and bravery, but of restless and turbulent disposition. An extensive commerce is carried on there. The principal route which passes by Bosna-Seraï is that from Trieste to Constantinople. Entering upon Turkish territory at Novi, it skirts the Sanna, passes near Banyaluka, and by Traunik reaches Bosna-Seraï; thence it continues by Priepol upon Novi-Bazar, Pristina, in the basin of the Morava, where we shall again find it. This route is a long defile, hollowed in the flank of the Bosnian chain, intersected by ravines, rivulets, counter-slopes and plains, it is no less important than difficult.

The Bosna receives yet another affluent which passes by *Traunik*, a town defended by a poor fort, with 10,000 inhabitants and the residence of the Pacha of Bosnia; then it waters *Vrandouk*, a stronghold which entirely closes one of the gorges of the Bosna; finally, it passes at the foot of the second-rate forts of *Maglai*, *Xepsi*, and *Dobor*, which defend the entrance of the country against Slavonia.

4. The *Drina* combines two torrents descending from the Bosnian Alps, and which, united, pass by *Vichgrad*, a small town, poorly fortified; it serves in part as a boundary to Bosnia and Servia, waters *Zvornik*, a town which is reputed to be the strongest place in Servia, although it is only surrounded by a wall flanked with towers; it is navigable there; then it traverses *Lochnitza*, a town of Servia where the Turks were beaten by the Austrians in 1789; thence it waters a country thickly covered with jungle, and which has been ensanguined by the wars between the Bosnians and the Servians; it terminates at the small fort of *Ratzka*.

The basins of these four rivers constitute the plains of Turkish Croatia and Bosnia, which, together with the mountains whence they derive their names, and their counterslopes, form the elevations and framework of these countries.

The great Alps are prolonged to the vicinity of the Gulf of Fiume by the *Dinaric Alps*, which run parallel to the Adriatic littoral, as far as the sources of the Unna (an

affluent of the Save). There the chain divides into two great branches, which leave between them a somewhat low plain of elliptical form, the general slope of which inclines towards the Adriatic: the northern branch forming the Bosnian Alps, the southern the Dalmatian Alps; the intermediate terrace being the *Herzegovina*—to be hereafter described. The Bosnian Alps extend for nearly 100 leagues, from Mount *Dinara* (2,340 metres) towards the sources of the Sanna, to Mount *Tchardagh* (3,200 metres), towards the sources of the Eastern Morava. These mountains have generally an altitude of 1,800 to 2,000 metres; their southern slopes are rocky, bare, sterile, furrowed with flat valleys without water, on the side of the Herzegovinian plateau; their northern slopes are scarped, intersected by ravines, but clothed with noble forests and excellent pastures. These plains are only to be crossed by very bad roads, whose outlets are on the shores of the Adriatic. The best is the ancient Gabinian way, which sets out from Spalatro on the coast, crosses the Cettina and the Prologh mountains, which belong to the Dalmatic Alps; passes by Livno and over the stony plain of the Herzegovina, and thence reaches the arid table-land of Koupris in the Bosnian Alps. This table-land, having an elevation of 1,600 metres, and seven to eight superficial leagues, is the culminating point of Bosnia; it is protected by a small fort. The traveller thence descends into the shady, well-wooded and fertile valleys of Verbaz, and next upon the Bosna at Traunik. Another route leads from Ragusa to the mouth of the Narenta, ascends that river as far as Mostar, traverses the Bosnian chain to Mount Ivan, and thence abuts upon Bosna-Seraï.

The counter-scarps of the Bosnian Alps stretch a long way, extending as far as the Danube; they are of slight elevation but very tortuous, thickly jungled, covered with forests and pastures, and intersected by torrents and defiles, which render the province of Bosnia an almost impenetrable country, therefore very favourable to defensive warfare; a country also of bad roads, bristling with forts or palisadoed redoubts, and inhabited by a robust, turbulent, and warlike

population. This race, which has given successively to the Roman and Ottoman armies their best soldiers, could raise 40,000 men. Bosnia, covered in front by the Save, supported in the rear by the Dinaric Alps, is in some sort an immense citadel and bulwark of the Ottoman Empire against Austria. It has, including Herzegovina, 46,000 square myriametres, and a population of 800,000 inhabitants, the greater part of Slav race: one half are Mahommetans, and of the other moiety, 300,000 are Greeks and 100,000 Catholics. We shall see what an important part this province has played in ancient times, which is now rather the ally than the subject of the Turks, on account of the European origin of its inhabitants, of its municipal institutions, which assure it a sort of independence, of its local militia (20,000 men), who are alone charged with the protection of the country, &c. At the present moment, when Servia and Montenegro have declared themselves independent of the Ottoman rule, it seems entirely isolated from that Empire. Bosnia is rich in pasturages, fruits, cereals, and especially in wood for building purposes; has iron mines, a very fine species of large-sized cattle, sheep affording a famous wool, a good breed of horses, &c. It carries on a rather considerable commerce with Austria.

6. *Servia.*

In continuing the description of the affluents of the right bank of the Danube, we come, after the Save, to the *Morava*. The basin of this great river, which comprehends almost the whole of *Servia*, is divided into two natural parts, the basin of the Morava affluents, and the basin of the great Morava, the latter combining two streams, the Servian or Western Morava, and the Bulgarian or Eastern Morava.

The *Servian Morava* springs from a spur of the Bosnian Alps, runs at first from south to north through quite a mountainous country, then takes an abrupt bend from west to east, leaving on the left *Oujitza*, a small town

defended by an old fort, which the Serbs took from the Turks in 1809 and again in 1813; it is skirted by mountain masses, of which we shall shortly speak, traverses narrow and fertile plains, passes near *Krouschevatz*, and unites itself with the Eastern Morava after threading a deep defile which is dominated by the mass of Mount Jastrebatz. It receives numerous tributaries, the principal of which is the *Ibar*.

The basin of the Ibar is the most remarkable portion, in a military point of view, of Turkey in Europe, of which it occupies nearly the centre. It forms a sort of terrace, whence the water-courses escape through deep defiles, a broad and elevated plain which strongly contrasts with the harsh and rugged character of the neighbouring mountains, intersecting them with rounded hillocks and rich pastures, and inhabited by a race of men as handsome as they are brave. This plain is, by its southern slope, the nucleus of all the ranges or chains which constitute the framework of European Turkey: it commands the roads or entrances into Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania; thence radiate in all directions the approaches to the chief towns of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ibar descends from amongst the spurs of the Tchar-Dagh; it flows through a series of defiles, the sides of which rise into steep and almost perpendicular cliffs, passes near Pristina, a town of from 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, badly fortified, and which ought to be the chief citadel of the empire: it, however, principally commands the road from Bosnia into Macedonia. It leaves on the right the celebrated plain of *Kassova*, nine or ten leagues in length by three in breadth, totally devoid of trees, cultivation or pasturage, and which has been the highway of so many armies, the battle field of so many conflicts. Here was fought, in 1389, the great battle in which Amurath I., the conqueror of the Bosnians and Servians, was assassinated, and that of 1448, in which Amurath II. vanquished the Hungarians. The Ibar next passes *Voutzitrin* and *Mitrovitza*, where it enters upon a vast mountain slope; then it receives on the left the *Raska*, a torrent which flows

through a deep gorge and passes on to *Novi-Bazar*, the ancient *Rascia*, a town of 8,000 inhabitants, ugly, tortuous, and defended by a ruinous fort, which is the key of the Ibar plain. There cross one another the roads of Nissa (Servia), of Uskioup (Macedonia), of Scutari (Albania), and of Bosna Seraï (Bosnia). The country of which Novi-Bazar is the chief town is *Rascia*, famous in antiquity and the Middle Ages by the valour of its people and by its position, wedged in between Bosnia, Servia, Albania, and Macedonia. The Ibar, after having passed by *Maglitch*, terminates at *Karanovatz*.

The *Bulgarian Morava* takes its rise in the Kourbetzka mountains, behind the Ibar, and is only separated from that stream by knolls covered with bushes. It runs through the plain of *Ghilan*, a plain with an elevation of 400 metres above the sea level, and which is the prolongation of that of Kassova, where the slopes are imperceptible, where the streams deviate, and which is, nevertheless, the parting of the waters alike of the Ægean Sea and of the Danube. The river flows on to *Vrania*, to *Kleisoura*, and to *Precoplia*, small towns of no importance, but situated between cultivated hills which present the aspect of Switzerland; and, finally, having received the Nissava, it turns to the west, and unites itself with the other Morava, after traversing, like the latter, a deep defile dominated by Mount Jastrebatz, 3,600 feet high.

Its chief affluent is the *Nissava*, which rises in the Veliko-Balkan; it traverses a valley skirted on the right by the *Suegpol* heights, wood-covered masses of some 3,900 feet elevation, which separate it from the Bulgarian Morava: in that valley opens the great road from *Sophia*. It thence passes to *Mustapha-Palanka*, waters Nissa or Nisch, the ancient Nais, an important town situated in a fine plain, through which passes the highway from Austria to Constantinople; it boasts of no less than 16,000 inhabitants, is only surrounded by an earthern rampart, but possesses a small citadel regularly bastioned and in good condition.

The two Moravas united form the *Great Morava*, which

runs from south to north in traversing at first, for twenty-five leagues, a defile lying between the Retagn mountains on the right and the Kotlenik on the left; then below *Jagodin*, a small town through which passes the road from Belgrade to Nisch, it enters upon a vast plateau, almost entirely bare, open, and studded with numerous villages, rich cultivation and large affluents, upon one of which is *Kragouchevatz*, once the seat of the Servian Government; finally, it forms some morasses and terminates in the Danube above Semendria.

The entire basin of the Morava is a region almost wholly mountainous and well-wooded; the plains and cultivated localities there are the few exceptions; its mountains and its valleys entangle one another so confusedly, that it is one of the least known countries of Europe, and the most favourable to defensive warfare, and it is to this physical character that it owes its independence. It is composed, as has been already shown, of two basins sufficiently distinct; the superior basin, with the Morava affluents, forms *Upper Servia;* the inferior basin, or the Great Morava, forms *Lower Servia.*

The first comprises several successive stages of mountains, between which lie narrow plains, and deep vallies connected by numerous spurs; and in the midst of all this hilly chaos rises the mass of Mount *Kopaonik* to an elevation of 1,400 metres. Taking into consideration only, in this complication of summits, the belt of the basin, it will be found that the mountains of which it is composed are: 1. To the west, a massive spur detached from the Bosnian Alps, running between the Drina and the Western Morava, and intersected by the great highway from Bosna-Serai to Nissa. At the heights of Oujitza this series of mountains bends round from west to east, runs parallel to the Morava in very massive groups, and culminates in the *Roudnik* mountains, which rise to more than 1,200 metres high, and the gorges of which have often served as a refuge to the insurgent Serbs. Finally, it terminates in Mount Douvor, situated near the confluence of the two Moravas.

2. To the south-west, the Bosnian Alps, in their densest portion, are attached to the *Tchar-Dagh*, or Mount *Scardo*. This last-named mass is a very remarkable knot of mountains, not only by its elevation, which rises above 3,000 metres, but because that there the three great chains of the Bosnian, Hellenic, and Mœsian Alps are united.

3. To the south stretch the Mœsian Alps, called also the *Western Balkan*. These Alps at first consist of the Mount *Kourbetzka*, nearly 1,700 metres high; then succeeds merely a lofty broken-up terrace, confusedly hurled into the midst of which superincumbent plateaux constitute the upper basins of the Ibar, of the Bulgarian Morava, of the Isker, the Strouma, and the Vardar,—divergent basins flowing into different seas from one only and at the same time great terrace. This terrace, the most gentle and prolonged incline of which is towards the north, where the basins are separated only by hilly undulations, opens, as already said, in the basin of the Ibar, easy routes between five great provinces of Turkey. It is the military focus of that empire; there its destinies have often been decided, and it is there that which constitutes Servia, holding as it does the principal points of this plateau, a province so important. Let us add that this plateau of Upper Mœsia is immediately dominated by the highest peaks of Turkey; the Scardo, to the south-west, the Kopaonik to the north, the high Balkan and the Rhodope to the south-west. The Alps of Mœsia are traversed by the routes from Pristina to Uskioup, from Vrania to Kostendil, from Nisch to Doubnitza, from Nisch to Sophia, which is the most important and which will be described in detail.

4. To the west, the *Veliki-Balkan*. It is by the scarcely undulated plateau where the route from Nisch to Sophia passes that the Veliki-Balkan connects itself very confusedly with the Mœsian Alps and to the Central Balkans, which will be presently noticed. The Veliki-Balkan is a very tortuous and somewhat indistinct chain, which separates the Bulgarian Morava from the Isker and other affluents of the Danube; it comprises first the *Souva*

mountains, some 1,200 metres high, a rough hilly-wooded country entirely desert, flanking the Nissava; next it winds round the sources of the Timok under the name of *Mosna*, and becomes intersected by the important road or defile from Widdin to Nisch, the only way by which one can, from Wallachia, reach Servia. Finally, it attains its highest elevation in the salient which it forms in approaching the Morava, towards Mount *Retagn*, a triangular pyramid of 1,300 metres elevation, and from which the entire country is overlooked. We shall again meet with the latter portions of the Veliki-Balkan in the basin of the Great Morava.

The basin of the Great Morava is much less extended and less advantageous than that of the Morava affluents. The most jungly portion, between Koloubara and the Morava, is called *Schoumadia*, a sylvan country, for, in fact, it appears only a vast oak forest, some portions of which have been cleared and cultivated. It is surrounded on one side by the mountains between Drina and Morava, which have an elevation of not more than 500 metres, but which are prolonged as far as the Danube from another side by the last portion of the Veliki-Balkan, which separates the Timok from the Morava. This portion, the least elevated of the Balkan range, is the most massive and tortuous of it. The mountains are scarcely more than from 500 to 600 metres high, but their summits are rugged, wooded, and scarped, and their spurs are contorted and divided into a thousand ribs, which torment the river for some ten or twelve leagues, and form on the right bank of the Danube the defile which ends at a point known as the Iron Gate. The basin of the Great Morava has a great political importance as containing the route from Belgrade to Nisch by Jagodin.

Servia is inhabited by a population which has played a prominent part in the history of Eastern Europe. The Serbs form a numerically important branch of the Slav race, which reckons 5,800,000 members scattered through Servia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, and lastly also in Hungary. Of these 5,800,000 Serbs, Servia counts

only from 800,000 to 900,000. Three millions follow the Greek religion, 1,800,000 the Roman Catholic, 1,000,000 the Mussulman religion. Nearly all the inhabitants of Servia are Greek Christians. Unenterprising in commerce, and without any taste for the comforts and refinements of Western life, they are careless, coarse-mannered, and unindustrious. Nothing inspires more melancholy feeling than the sight of this magnificent country, with its fine climate, its soil fertile in cereals, wine, pastures; its picturesque mountains, abounding in mineral wealth, its numerous rivers, and which has only the appearance of one immense forest, studded here and there with a heap of cabins dignified by the name of towns, the semi-savage inhabitants having for their chief industry, or rather, to speak correctly, for their principal resource, the breeding of swine, which they allow to wander at will, and in large herds beneath the interminable oak woods.

Servia had long, as may be seen in this history, a glorious and independent existence. The enemy of the Byzantines during all the Middle Ages, she seemed predestined to form a new Eastern Empire, at the epoch when the Turks captured Constantinople. Conquered by them she did not cease to struggle for her independence, and ended by re-conquering it at the commencement of the nineteenth century.

The military position of Servia is of extreme importance: placed between Bosnia and Bulgaria, it intercepts communication between these two provinces. Possessing a portion of the Balkans, it can turn those mountains at their centre, and throw an army of invasion into the basin of the Maritza and upon Constantinople. Situate opposite Hungary, it has been the great highway of the Turks in their invasions of that kingdom, and as it possesses the great route from Vienna to Constantinople, it may become one day for the Austrians the main road towards the heart of the Ottoman Empire.

7. *Bulgaria.*

We must not be led away by the fictions of geographers when, speaking of the province of Bulgaria, they limit it to the country between the Balkans and the Danube. In reality no such district exists, and the Bulgaria of to-day is the country inhabited by the Bulgarians. Indeed, the worst of the massacres and outrages which have lately interested Europe in the fate of these people occurred outside of what geographers choose to consider Bulgaria. How this idea of a separate province originated it is hard to ascertain. The Turks do not recognize it, and the Bulgarians themselves repudiate it. What geographers call Bulgaria, is known administratively to the Turks as the vilayet of the Danube; the country to the south of the Balkans being known as the vilayet of Adrianople. The Greeks, indeed, who still speak of Thrace and Macedonia, sometimes use the word "Bulgaria" to denote the province of the Danube. After throwing out Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Servia, Albania and Thessaly, Bulgaria would constitute, in fact, nearly all the rest of European Turkey. More strictly speaking, it would be necessary to cut off from this the regions near the mouths of the Danube, and the sea-coast of the Sea of Marmora, and part of the shore of the Ægean. Bulgaria would be nearly included by a line which started from the Servian frontier, near Alexinatz, and was drawn through Prizrend, on the Albanian frontier, Okrida, Kostoria, Niagusta, Salonica, Adrianople, and Burgas, on the Black Sea, and from thence to the Danube, near Silistria. It would thus include the greater part of the province of the Danube, the districts of Nisch and Sophia, where there are very few Turks, the whole of Macedonia, and that part of Thrace west of Adrianople. Any one who is curious on this subject has only to consult the ethnographical map of Turkey compiled by the lamented French *savant*, Lejean, which was published as a supplement to Petermann's "Mittheilungen," in 1861, although there are several inaccuracies contained in it against rather than in favour of the Bulgarians.

It only remains to describe the last affluents of the right shore of the Danube, the basins of which constitute Bulgaria.

The affluents which descend from the Balkans are torrent-like, unnavigable, and flanked by strong scarps. The country which they furrow is a region staged in terraces traversed by several parallel chains, their different degrees divided in their turn by transversal ramifications that thrust forward their terminal heights as far as the Danube. The rivers deepen themselves in these calcareous terraces, and form narrow and ravine-like basins; the passes they open are but bad ways of communication, and their passage is very difficult, the plateaux which separate them being themselves torn by gorges deeply excavated; and where they are not covered with forest, they present bare, sterile steppes, bristling with thorns and thickets, and which often intersect cultivated districts producing crops, and slopes covered with vineyards.

1. The *Timok* descends from two great sources in the densest part of the Veliki-Balkan. It flows past *Gorgouckwatz*, the opening of the defile of Vratanitza, which forms the road from Widdin to Nisch, continues its escarpments as far as *Bregova*, where it issues upon a plain, and terminates at *Radojewatz*. It is not navigable, and has only a breadth of 15 to 45 metres; but it possesses great importance by its mountainous basin which the route from Widdin to Nisch traverses. It serves as a boundary between Servia and Bulgaria.

In addition to the Timok, there are ten torrents of like character; they traverse a country very favourable to defensive war, and are intersected, near their affluents, by the road from Widdin to Nicopolis. The most remarkable is the *Arcer*, which passes by *Belgradchik*, situate on the route from Widdin to Nisch.

2. The *Isker*, the ancient Iska, descends from the central plateau of the Balkans, waters *Samakor*, a town situate in the centre of the plateau, at the issue of the Kis-Derbend defile which leads from Albania towards Adrianople; and passes at some leagues distant from

Sophia, the ancient *Sardica*, a great city of 40,000 inhabitants, protected only by a strong wall flanked by towers, and which has a first-rate position, as it is at the issue of Trajan's defile, that is to say, the road from Austria to Constantinople, to be described further on. It is a dirty, tortuous and ill-built place, having some industry, and is the capital of Bulgaria. The stream runs afterwards through a narrow and deep valley, formed by the two principal spurs of the Balkans, Etropol Balkan and the Soumoughou-Dagh; it emerges from this defile at *Etropol*, and enters upon the Bulgarian Steppes and terminates below *Raovitza*.

3. The *Vid*, the *Osma*, &c., are great rivers, which traverse a country now rendered memorable by the incidents of the sanguinary war waged in 1877-8 against Turkey by Russia. The far-famed stronghold of Plevna is situate on an affluent of the Vid. The Osma is crossed at Loftcha by the road from Nicopolis to Gabrova, and terminates near Nicopolis.

4. The *Jantra*, or *Yantra*, is formed by several torrents, the chief one of which passes by *Gabrova*, where the road from Adrianople to Rustchuk issues. It is skirted by that road, passes through *Tirnova*, a small fortified town, but which, in a military point of view, is considered the key of the Balkans, and terminates below Sistova. During the recent hostilities we have heard a good deal, and shall probably hear more, of the two towns called Tirnova, Trenova, Ternovo, Terniva, or Turnoff. One of these towns is to the north of the Balkan chain, and the other to the south of it, and they must not be confounded with each other. The latter is a small place of no other importance beyond its military value as the junction of the branch line from Yamboli and Yeni Saghra with the main rail road from Adrianople to Philippopolis and Tatar Bazardjik. The first, when held by the Russians, was the intended seat of Prince Tcherkaski's future administration in Bulgaria. It stands in a deep hollow of volcanic origin, on a plateau running into this concave declivity, and connected with the country above by a narrow, precipitous

ridge, covered with houses. The citadel is situated on a rock at its southern extremity, and communicates with the town by a bridge. The whole is surrounded by the river Yantra, a very rapid stream, and forms a very strong position, covering the road to Gabrova and the Shipka Pass. The houses of the town, built close to the very edge of steep rocks, hang over the torrent of the river that winds its course through the confined and difficult gorge below. Surrounded on all sides by mountains, Tirnova stands in a situation at once bold, dangerous and picturesque. The streets, ill-paved and excessively dirty, are in many places darkened by wooden projections, extending from the opposite houses, built (as is the case in all Turkish towns) so as to nearly touch each other at the top. To the north of the town the road forms a steep descent, having on the right, in a deep and narrow ravine, the Yantra, and, on the left, precipitous limestone rocks, planted, wherever there is soil, with vineyards. The remainder of the road to Sistova on the Danube, forty miles distant, is, for the most part, over rolling and fertile downs. The town contains some 12,000 inhabitants, mostly Bulgarians.

5. The *Lom* is formed by two rivers, and terminates at Rustchuk; the most eastern skirts the road from Rustchuk to Shumla, a route defended by the little town of *Rasgrad*, situate in a very fertile country. The lines of the Russian corps d'armée commanded by the Czarevitch in the late campaign occupied the western or Kara Lom.

6. The *Taban*, which passes by *Kutschuk-Kinardji*, near Silistria, historically famous by the treaty of 1774.

After the Taban, a few rivers, of little extent, only are found, traversing a flat and somewhat swampy region. The importance passes to the direct affluents of the Black Sea, which descend from the last spurs of the Balkans. They will be reverted to after those mountains have been described.

At the point where the Veliki-Balkan detaches itself from the mass of the Balkans, the chain is continued in an incline to the south-west, and forms, as far as the defile of Trajan, a portion of which is called the *Central*

Balkan; it was the ancient *Orbelus*. The Central Balkan is the lowest range and least prominent of all that vast chain. It is at first composed of a rocky and triangular mass, some 1,300 metres high; this is Mount *Vitoch*, situate two leagues to the south of Sophia. It then presents only a series of low crests, having scarcely an elevation of 900 metres, rising above a wild and desert plateau elevated slightly above the base of the adjacent vallies, and which is surmounted here and there by chains of rocks separated by wide depressions. This plateau is intersected by few defiles, but is, nevertheless, difficult enough to pass over because of the density of the forests, the absence of cultivation and habitations, huge masses of loose pebbles and scattered flints, through which horses cannot walk, and finally because of the hurricanes which sometimes sweep whole caravans over the precipices. Moreover, behind the Balkan open the deep valleys of the Varda and the Stronma, flanked by spurs of much greater elevation and more inaccessible than the Balkan itself. The principal route of the Central Balkan is that which leads from Kostendil on the Stronma to Samakov, and thence to Bania on the Maritza. The *col* of Bania is 650 metres high.

The Balkan plateau is again traversed longitudinally on its northern slope by the route from Nisch (or Nissa) to Adrianople, the only road by which Constantinople can be reached by eluding the Danube, the Balkans, and all the fortified places. It sets out, as already stated, from Belgrade, which holds the key of it, passes Semendria, follows the left bank of the valley of the Great Morava, crosses that river near Jagodin, passes on to the right bank, attains the valley of the Nissava, and reaches Nisch, the importance of which has already been pointed out. Thence, it reascends the Nissava, skirting the very rugged reverse slopes of the Souva mountains. It traverses three defiles between Nisch and Dragoman; then it cuts the line of the parting of the waters between the Isker and the Nissa in a vast slope so slightly mountainous that the two rivers appear only to run through the same valley. It next winds through the broad plain in which the Isker has its source,

a verdant plateau productive of cereal crops, and reaches Sophia. Beyond Sophia, as far as Ichtiman, the plateau is covered with pastures and surrounded by well-wooded mountains. The road then becomes more difficult, rocky, and often ravaged by storms: it continues to ascend gently, crossing some torrents as far as the defile called *Kapoulou*-Derbend, or "Pass of the Gate," so named from the *Trajan Gate*, the last remains of which were demolished in 1835. This defile has only an elevation of 70 metres above the plain of Ichtiman, but it is 730 above the sea level; and inasmuch as the talus by which the traveller ascends on the Ichtiman side is almost imperceptible, so, far otherwise is the slope by which he descends on the side of the Maritza abrupt, rapid, and winding through a sombre gorge, at sharp angles. This route will be again met with in the basin of the Maritza. It may suffice to say here that it is the easiest of all those which cross the Balkan, that it follows the traces of an ancient highway, and only appears from Nisch like a long natural cutting, traversing four successive and gently inclined stages from Nisch, which has an elevation of 135 metres to Scharkoë, which has 320; from Scharkoë to Sophia, which has 530; and from Sophia to Ichtiman, which has 660.

Beyond the defile of Trajan commences the Eastern Balkan, which is the true Balkan, the ancient *Hæmus*, for it is only by analogy or by simplification that that name is given to the western mountains as far as Mount Scardo; the Turks call it *Eminch-Dagh*, "mountains which protect." This Balkan is divided into two very distinct portions: the Upper Balkan, from the defile of Trajan to that of Demir-Kapou: the Great Balkan, from the last-named defile to Cape Eminch. The Eastern Balkan is destitute of lofty summits, perpetual snows, like the formidable *cols* of the Alps and Pyrenees; these are secondary mountains, whose mean height scarcely reaches 1,000 metres, the culminating peaks of which do not exceed 1,700 metres; their breadth is some ten leagues in the most western portion, and scarcely three leagues in the vicinity of the Black Sea. They present, in some parts, bare ridges and

rugged scarps, but, almost everywhere, pap-like ridges, rounded cupolas, like the *ballons* of the Vosges, or rather a series of summits slightly pre-eminent, with wide bases, clothed with trees on their flanks, and crowned with pastures where the snow does not remain during summer. They are, moreover, garnished nearly throughout with dense forests, tall herbage, impervious thickets; and therein lies the difficulty of making a pathway through them. The upper valleys are narrow, deep and edged with rocks; but they very soon spread into wide plains. Their spurs, with one exception, are of slight elevation, small extent, and slightly steep; they enlarge suddenly into terraces, thus forming successive stages plainly marked, which constitute the ground-plan of Bulgaria; finally, in sloping gently towards the Danube, they terminate in high steep banks, which command the left bank of the river. It follows from this configuration of the country that on the Bulgarian side the upper ridge of the Balkans may be easily reached by a variety of passes which are really rugged, steep and tortuous in the crest passes alone. On the Roumelian side, the slope of the Balkan is, on the contrary, strongly inclined, falling abruptly into the plains; the aspect of the chain is, nevertheless, sombre and devoid of grandeur, and the passes present scarps and formidable cavities.

It has been said that the Balkan on its northern slope has only one remarkable spur—the *Etropol Balkan*, which detaches itself from the great chain near Ichtiman, with an elevation of from 1,300 to 1,400 metres, and terminates upon the course of the Isker, where it joins a detached spur of the Veliki-Balkan, the *Soumoughou-Dagh*, 1,100 metres high. These two savage and sparsely-inhabited spurs thus form a continuous mountain line, and much more sharply defined than those which form the Central Balkan. Their southern slope effaces itself in the great plain of Sophia.

The Balkans are, however, of all the mountains of European Turkey, the least difficult to traverse; but there does not exist, save in a few remains of ancient causeways,

any customary and kept-up way; all the routes are natural ones. The principal are as follow: 1. That which starts from Gabrova on the Jantra to Kesanlik upon the Tundja unites the roads which set out from Nicopolis and from Rustchuk, and is defended in front of the Balkans by the town of Tirnova, and rejoins at Philippopolis the highway from Vienna to Constantinople. The *col* of Gabrova is elevated, tortuous, abrupt, running between rocky walls. 2. That which sets out from Rustchuk ascends the Ak-Lom, traverses the defile of Demir-Kapou and abuts upon Selivno, and thence to Adrianople. The *col* of Demir-Kapou is only 100 metres high; but its two slopes are arid, desert, and little frequented.

Beyond this defile, the Balkan sinks rapidly and opens into three principal branches, leaving between them transverse valleys, somewhat shallow, fertile, and emptying their waters into the Black Sea. The first branch runs towards the north under the name of the *Binar-Dagh*, and consists of platforms of 400 to 600 metres; it sinks into hills, is easily pierced by the roads from Rustchuk and Silistria to Shumla, in heights of some 350 metres, and terminates in imperceptible slopes towards the Dike of Trajan. The second runs eastward under the name of the *Great Balkan*, and terminates at Cape Emineh; it throws out spurs which complete the opening of the Balkan and which enclose the picturesque valleys of Pravadi and Kamtchik, in plateaux of scarcely 300 metres high. The longest and highest is the *Kutschuk-Balkan*, which separates two branches of the Kamtchik; the shortest and most remarkable is that which forms the promontory or scarp of Shumla, between Pravadi and Kamtchik. The Great Balkan is only 700 metres high, a breadth of two or three leagues and summits of undefined contours; these summits figure on the horizon like an arboreous wall of oaks, broken by gentle undulations; its northern spurs separate the affluents of the Kamtchik. In this Balkan the traveller is surprised by the easy approach to the crest by means of the level surface of the transverse valleys and by almost imperceptibly surmounting them: only an hour

and a half's walk being thus required to pass through the defile of Nadir-Derbend, which leads to Aïdos, and which is not less than 600 metres high. That defile is here flanked by savage scarps and ploughed with torrents, there covered with verdure, houses and gardens. It belongs to the well-frequented road which runs from a triple obstacle which, with the numerous valleys they enclose, ought to cover Constantinople, but as these mountains are of no great elevation, as the routes which traverse them lead direct, and by the shortest way, upon Constantinople, they have been the points of passage of the majority of the armies that have marched upon the capital, and the Turks have been forced to protect them with strong forts. These strongholds are situated upon the course of the following streams: The *Pravadi*, a torrent which descends from the Binar-Dagh and passes to *Pravadi*, a small town which commands the area between Shumla and Varna, as well as the route of the Dobrudscha through the defile of Dobrol. It was taken by the Russians in 1828, and since that period has been fortified. After having formed a swampy lake, the Pravadi terminates at Varna, the best port of Turkey on the Black Sea, and the occupation of which is indispensable to an army which desires to cross the Eastern Balkan. It is a well-fortified town, and which was taken by treason by the Russians in 1829.

The main route from Bucharest or from Russia to Constantinople goes from Pravadi and turns round by Shumla on the east; it was traversed by the Russians in 1829. There is another route less convenient, although less elevated, on account of the three chains which it intersects. It is that which skirts Shumla on the west by Eski-Djouma, Osman-Bazar in the Binar-Dagh, Kasan in the Kutschut-Balkan and thence upon Selivno or Karnabat. Finally, there is a route which leads from Shumla to Aïdos and to Karnabat by the defile of Dobrol.

The third branch of the Balkan, which is only joined to the great chain by a slope of some 300 metres high, where the road from Karnabat to Selivno passes, is called Mount

Strandja. It runs directly to the south-east, and separates the basin of the Maritza from the little rivers which fall into the Black Sea; its greatest elevation being some 900 metres between Fakhi and Tirnova; but near Viza it is no more than 400; and when it reaches above the Bosphorus it falls to less than 200. It then forms a succession of hilly plateaux covered with forests, intersected by short parallel valleys, not easily traversed. Its western slopes descend gently towards the Maritza; finally, its last undulations are lost in the environs of Constantinople amidst fertile and cultivated hills. The principal route which crosses the Strandja (*Stanches*) mountains is that of Aïdos to Kirk-Kilissia by the defile of Fakhi; the shortest road from Shumla to Constantinople.

The Binar-Dagh, the Great Balkan and the Strandja mountains form a triple obstacle which, with the numerous valleys they enclose, ought to cover Constantinople, but as these mountains are of slight elevation, as the routes that traverse them lead directly and by the shortest way to Constantinople, they have been the places of passage for most of the armies which have marched upon that capital, and the Turks ought to have studded them with strongholds. These places are situated upon the course of the following streams:

The *Kamtchik*, formed of three rivers which run in deep and torrent-like beds and the passage of which is very difficult. That on the north descends from the Binar-Dagh and surrounds, between it and one of its affluents, the plateau on the eastern flank of which stands *Shumla*, one of the most important military positions of Europe. This place is at the head of the formidable triangle of which Rustchuk and Silistria form the other two angles, upon the great road from Bucharest or Russia to Constantinople. It is the key of the Balkan and the chief bulwark of Turkey against the Russians. It is situated upon a kind of promontory so steep and narrow that it is almost impossible to blockade and bombard it. The town, tortuously piled up on this height, has a population of 20,000 inhabitants, laborious enough and

chiefly engaged in the manufacture of copper-work. Surrounded by ditches, ramparts, and flanked by towers, it is the stronghold of a vast entrenched camp, surrounded by lofty hills fortified and defended by a citadel which dominates the plateau all round. The Russians fruitlessly blockaded the place in 1811 and in 1828, and three battles have been fought under its walls. The middle Kamtchik traverses a deep valley between the Binar-Dagh and the Kutschuk Balkan, without watering any other remarkable place except *Eski-Stamboul*, upon the route to Shumla at the Dobrol defile. The southern Kamtchik descends from the Demir-Kapou, skirts all the crest of the Great Balkan, in a valley broken up by gorges and scarps, and intersected by all the routes which traverse this chain. These three water-courses consist of a river, remarkable for the variety, fertility, and population of the country through which it flows, and which is especially of very great importance in military operations, the three Kamtchiks constituting a confused region difficult to be well defended.

The basins just described comprehend a great portion of Bulgaria, a fertile but badly cultivated country, with a climate generally cold, because it is exposed to the winds of the northern steppes; thus it is covered with ice from December to February. It presents, especially in the vicinity of the Balkans, the most picturesque sites, a luxuriant vegetation, rich pastures, noble forests. The population, from its main characteristics, has often been compared to that of Switzerland or Auvergne. It will have been seen to what revolutions this province has been subjected, what sufferings it has undergone, being upon the route of all the armies which have coveted Constantinople.

CHAPTER II.

PROVINCES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

1. *The Hellenic Peninsula.*

THE peninsula commonly called the *Hellenic*, forms a triangular mass, whose base is the mountain arc described by the Dinaric Alps and the Balkans, and whose summit is Cape Matapan. The western side is limited by the Adriatic and Ionian seas, the eastern side by the Archipelago, the Sea of Marmora, and the Straits of the Dardanelles and Constantinople. This peninsula is shared at the present time between the Ottoman empire and the kingdom of Greece.

It presents a vast promontory bristling with steep mountain chains, hollowed into deep and short valleys, indented with gulfs, skirted with isles, full of caverns, subject to earthquakes, and appears like the wreck of a country formerly larger and less rugged, that must have been upheaved by volcanic action, of which its isles bear numerous traces. It is especially in proportion as the Balkans are left behind that all regularity disappears in the disposition of the surface, that the cleaving and rending are multiplied, that the mountains seem broken up, that the coasts become steep and inflected, that the water-courses wind and hollow out channels for themselves, that the capes and isles display their angular groups and savage points. One nevertheless again meets with, throughout that molested region, those huge cavities with flat bottoms and high levels like those in the Dinaric Alps and the Balkans, and which are a peculiar characteristic of Turkey in Europe. The north has some plains, streams of

navigable water, fine forests, a temperate climate, a fertile soil; the south has only bald and woodless mountains, torrents, and a heat often insupportable; but the isles, fertile and abounding in wines, silks, marbles, present aspects the most delicious, the loveliest sky and most genial climate of Europe. This mountainous chaos, this confused cluster of capes, scarps, ravines and valleys, is the corner of earth that in past times has most enlightened, elevated and perfectionated humanity. "It is," according to a Roman author, "the teeming mother of philosophy, science, religion, agriculture and the arts."

From the sources of the Ibar, behind that plain of Pristina, the importance of which has been mentioned, from the snowy mass of the Tchar-Dagh a long and tortuous chain detaches itself and runs from north to south, separating the waters of the Adriatic from those of the Archipelago, and which may be called the *Hellenic Alps*. This chain, which only terminates at Cape Matapan, and which should thus have an extent of 700 to 800 kilometres, forms the principal framework of the peninsula; it is very little known; its highest summits ought to reach from 2,800 to 3,000 metres; its scarps and slopes are very numerous, very confused, and make the whole of the peninsula an entirely mountainous country; it can only be traversed by few and bad roads.

The Hellenic Alps divide the peninsula into two great watersheds: that of the Archipelago, and that of the Adriatic Sea. The watershed of the Archipelago comprehends, in the Ottoman empire, *Roumelia*, or the ancient provinces of *Thrace*, *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*; that of the Adriatic Sea, the *Herzegovina* and *Albania*.

2. *Thrace.*

Ancient Thrace is a vast plain bordered by a mountainous amphitheatre, a plain dotted with little hills, woods, cultivated tracts and swamps, and which is comprised in the basin of the Maritza, a country about to be described.

The basin of the Maritza is surrounded on the east by the Strandja Mountains, on the north by the Eastern Balkan, on the west by a vast slope detached from the Balkans, the *Rhodope*, which the Turks have called *Despoto-Dagh* (mountain of the Priests), on account of the numerous monasteries formerly scattered over these mountains. The Rhodope detaches itself from the Balkans in the elevated plateau where the Isker, the Strouma and the Maritza take their source, not far from the Defile of Trajan; and it is prolonged to an extent of fifty leagues as far as the Ægean Sea. It is less a distinct chain than a pile of several distinct chains, the breadth of which would be from twenty to twenty-five leagues, comprising therein the parallel slopes that extend as far as the Strouma. The slopes which descend on the side of the Maritza are much less extended, and, from that side, the chain appears to rise abruptly above the plains. Its altitude goes on diminishing from north to south; in the north it is some 2,600 metres; in the south not more than from 700 to 800. Its last slopes fall with imperceptible decline to the sea. Its passes are few, difficult, and high; for the most part carried across scarps covered with virgin forests of pines and beeches. The most important and deepest is that of Kis-Derbend, which leads from Tatar-Bazardjik to Rasloük on the Mesto, that is to say, from Bulgaria into Macedonia, without traversing Thrace.

No country in Turkey presents such fine mountain summits or upon so grand a scale, especially when seen from Tatar-Bazardjik and Philippopolis, where one has, on the other side, the aspect of the Balkans, which loses by being placed in a vicinity so magnificent. The Despoto-Dagh forms a perfect amphitheatre, where, below the verdant mountain-tops or the bare rocks, are staged superb forests of pines and larches, then a zone tufted with beech, and, lower down, oak woods with meadows and vineyards encircling the villages. These mountains have served as a refuge to the Greeks, who, persecuted by the Turks, here cantoned themselves in the villages and monasteries placed at the bottom of the valleys or upon

the scarps; but that Christian population has been successively and designedly expelled by the Mussulmans.

The basin of the Maritza is again shut in on the south by the *Tekir-Dagh*, a series of low mountains crowned by small plateaux, which extend in a line parallel to the coast of the Archipelago, and appear united to the Rhodope, but leaving to the Maritza a wide, open valley without stoppage. One of its counter-slopes serves to form the framework of the peninsula of Gallipoli: its northern scarps hang over the Sea of Marmora and unite

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themselves with divers counter-slopes of the Strandja Mountains, which form the peninsula of Constantinople. All these heights, wooded or rocky, have no more than an elevation of 400 metres.

The Maritza takes it source in the Samakov mass; it flows at first through a deep ravine as far as *Kostanitza*, where it is joined by the route of Soulu-Derbend; it begins to extend itself in an open country at *Tatar-Bazardjik*, a town of 8,000 inhabitants, important by its

position; then it traverses a wide and fertile valley, well populated, but the cultivation of which being chiefly rice-fields, it is swampy, unhealthy, and travelling difficult. It continues to be skirted by the route from Vienna to Constantinople, and reaches *Philippopolis*, an industrious city, of 20,000 inhabitants. The plain which it traverses remains fertile and populous, and it thus waters a multitude of small towns and villages as far as *Adrianople*. This ancient city is now looked upon as the second capital of the Ottoman Empire, of which it was the Metropolis from 1369 to 1453. It stands on the Maritza, near the confluence of the Tundja and the Arda with the Hebrus. Its site is a spot celebrated alike in the earliest traditions of antiquity and in the records of more authenticated and modern history. It was at the junction of these three rivers that the infuriated Orestes purified himself from the contamination of the murder of his mother; and a town erected in commemoration of that event bore his name, and is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine authors. Here, also, where the Hebrus first changes its course from the eastward to descend to the south, the Emperor Adrian afterwards rebuilt the city, which, at a later period, enjoyed the dignity of a metropolis, and still retains a name derived from its Roman restorer.

Adrianople is the capital of a pachalik, and occupies a fine situation in the midst of a beautiful country, and is now about five miles in circumference, surrounded by old walls, and defended by a citadel, which has, since the commencement of the recent war (1877-8), been strengthened by fresh works and modern artillery. But, although its appearance from a distance is highly imposing, its beauty sadly diminishes upon a nearer view, like that of most Turkish cities. On entering the suburbs by a long, narrow bridge over the Tundja—picturesque but not over strong—the streets are found to be very narrow, and darkened by wooden projections from the opposite houses. The population used to be estimated at 100,000, and included a large number of Greeks, but is now much less, owing to two annual fairs, to which Russians with furs, and

Germans with cloth, were in the habit of resorting, having ceased to exist. Its trade is, however, still considerable, consisting chiefly in its exports of raw silks, and a colouring substance used as a yellow dye, known generally by the name of grains d'Avignon. It has also silk manufactures, and on a smaller scale, wool and cotton, and there are establishments for making rose-water and other perfumes.

The public buildings, for size and beauty, are equal, if not superior, to any in the whole empire. The Mosque of Selim and the Bazaar of Ali Pacha are called the pride of Adrianople. The mosque has four minarets, which are fluted, and much admired for the elegance of their construction. Three spiral staircases, winding round each other, separately conduct to the three different galleries of each minaret, to the highest of which there are 377 steps. The interior is highly imposing. This mosque is supposed to have 999 windows; but Christians are not allowed to count them—the Turks have a superstition that to allow of such a calculation being made would be unlucky. The exterior court is paved with large slabs of white marble, and the antique columns of the cloisters built round it are of various orders and dimensions, but all of the most costly materials—either Verde antique, Egyptian granite, or snow-white marble. Taken altogether, the Mosque of Selim is considered one of the largest and most beautiful Mahommedan temples in the world.

There are about forty other mosques and fountains, which add considerably to the quaint character of the streets. The Bazaar is a brick building, vaulted with arches, consisting of alternate red and white bricks. It is about 1,000 feet in length, and the *coup d'œil* is more striking than anything of the kind that can be seen either at Cairo or Constantinople.

It is a common remark that history often repeats itself. The late Emperor Nicholas made war upon Turkey in 1828-9, and in Europe his forces penetrated as far as Adrianople, which surrendered on the 29th of August, 1829, to General Diebitsch. This important success led to the treaty of peace, concluded on the 14th of Septem-

ber following, and which is known as the Treaty of Adrianople. The stipulations of this international contract restored to the Porte those parts of Bulgaria and Roumelia which the Russians had conquered, besides Moldavia and Wallachia—subsequently known as the Danubian principalities. It also fixed the Pruth and the right bank of the Danube from the mouth to the former river to be the boundary line between Turkey in Europe, and Russia. The limits of the Asiatic territories of the two states were also exactly defined. Sums of indemnity for the cost of the war were assigned to Russia, and the liberty of trading to all parts of the Turkish dominions conceded, besides the trading navigation of the Danube, the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea. The free passage of the Dardanelles was also guaranteed to the Russians.

After Adrianople, the river, which has flowed so far from west to east, turns to the south; vessels of fifty tons can then navigate it. It waters *Dimotica* (Didymothicon) a small town celebrated by the sojourn there of Charles XII. of Sweden, and terminates in the Gulf of Enos by two mouths. Its affluents are very numerous. Those which descend from the Rhodope have nothing remarkable: torrent-like at their source, flowing through fertile plains near their confluents, they traverse only small towns of no note; but those which come from the Balkans and the Strandja mountains have great importance. The most considerable is the *Toundja*. It descends from the Balkan, runs through a deep valley, parallel to the great chain, being shut in between it and one of its parallel counter-slopes, which is from 400 to 500 metres high. This valley, remarkably fertile and picturesque, is almost wholly occupied by the culture of roses, from which the famous essence is distilled. It passes on to *Kezanlik*, a town celebrated throughout the East for its commerce in roses, and which stands at the outlet of the Sabrova defile; then it leaves on the left *Selivno* or *Islivné*, a small town important by its position at the issue of the principal routes of the Balkans; it turns to the south, parallel to the Strandja mountains, and terminates at Adrianople.

Another important affluent is the *Erkené* which descends from the *Strandja* mountains and passes by no celebrated locality; but it receives a large number of water-courses and flows through a hilly and difficult basin, which is traversed by the high-road from Adrianople to Stamboul. One of these affluents passes *Kirk-Kilissia*, or the *Forty-Churches*, a small town, important by its position at the outlet of the Fakhi defile, and which gives its name to a district.

The basin of the Maritza comprehends the best cultivated, the best populated, the richest portion of the Ottoman Empire: fine plains, gently sloping mountains, little hills covered with vineyards and orchards, numerous villages, small manufacturing towns, tenanted by active and laborious inhabitants, a great capital, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, make of it a country eminently accessible to the progress of the West. The population is made up of Greeks, Moslems, and of *Vlaques* or *Zinzares*. These Vlaques do not derive their origin from Wallachia; they are thought to be descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Thrace; they are of savage manners and lead a wandering life. These races form about 2,000,000 inhabitants, three-fifths of whom are Christians, and two-fifths Mussulmans. The Turks chiefly live in the towns.

This basin has a political importance of the first order, as containing the latter portions of the routes from Austria and Russia towards Constantinople, which meet together at Adrianople. From the mountains as far as that city, those routes meet with no obstacle; but, below Adrianople, when the road is forced to follow the succession of defiles which the affluents of the Erkené present, it traverses a sandy soil, over uncultivated plains, with here and there a village. The peninsula comprised between the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Sea of Marmora, is a country slightly hilly, but very much broken up, covered with thickets and intersected by ravines; the road skirts the sea-coast on approaching *Silivri*, but it is cut through continually by rivulets and torrents, and presents numerous obstacles. It is, nevertheless, by that route

that the products and the population of the Maritza pass over, rather than by the Maritza itself and the Gulf of Enos. To complete the delineation of its basin it will be necessary to describe the Sea of Marmora, Stamboul, and its straits.

3. *The Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora.*

The Black Sea, which receives more than twenty great rivers and a very considerable mass of water, pours the overflow of it into the Ægean Sea by two narrow necks which are united in a retaining basin: the two necks of water or straits are the Bosphorus of Thrace and the Hellespont; the retaining basin is the Sea of Marmora or the Propontis.

The *Hellespont* or *Strait of the Dardanelles* extends from the southern extremity of the Thracian Chersonese, or peninsula of the Dardanelles, to the town of Gallipoli, in a length of sixty-seven kilometres and a breadth varying from 1,262 to 7,590 metres.

This deep, winding strait, devoid of islands and having but few shoals, resembles, with its two shores scooped out amphitheatrically, and grooved with vallies and picturesque sites, not a sea, but rather a wide river running from north-east to south-west. It is without a rival in the world from the importance of the seas which it opens; it is the key of that fine maritime lake interposed between Asia and Europe, and which the ancients called *Propontis;* of that city, the site of which is unequalled—Constantinople; of that vast closed sea (*mare clausum*) the Euxine, which is the unique link of the northern and eastern steppes with the fairest regions of the South, that is to say, between barbarism and civilization.

The strait is narrowed at its entrance, which is about 2,800 metres in breadth, by the two Capes Eleontum and Sigeum, platforms of some 100 metres high, resembling terraced ramparts. At their feet are the two *New-Castles* or *New-Dardanelles*, the glaring whiteness of which con-

trasts with the dark azure of the sea. The Turks call the European castle, *Sedil-Bahr-Kalessie*, and the Asiatic fortress, *Koume-Kalessi;* the first has, moreover, on the height, the old fort of *Paleocastro;* the second is built upon the left bank of the Simois.

Four leagues above the New Dardanelles, between Cape Rhetico and Cape Dardanus, at the part where the Strait is only 1,500 metres broad, stand the *Old-Dardanelles*, or the *Kilid-Bahr* in Europe, and *Kilid-Soultanie* in Asia. These works consist, like the first, on the sea-shore, of batteries on the water level, reached by a double flight of steps; on the land side, of an *enceinte* flanked by towers, with a keep in strong masonry. The whole, however, is badly planned, badly connected, badly armed, although there are 315 guns mounted. Nevertheless the batteries cross their fire, and the enemy is exposed to it, owing to the sinuosities and currents, for nearly three leagues. Near *Kilid-Bahr* is the bay of *Kilia*, where the Turks effected, in 1356, their first landing in Europe; near *Kilid-Soultanie* is the small town of the *Dardanelles*.

This central defence is united almost immediately to the interior defence, which is composed of the works of *Bohalié* in Europe, and of *Nagara* in Asia, armed with 160 guns and separated by 2,174 metres. They were constructed in 1807. Nagara (*Abydos*) is situated at the extremity of a narrow point, bristling with sandbanks and shoal-water, where the current is very swift, where the most prominent elbow of the strait projects, where in fine the navigation is difficult enough to admit of only one vessel passing at a time.

In ancient times the Strait of the Dardanelles was an almost insurmountable obstacle for ships of war, and it will be found, in fact, that in modern times it has only once been passed forcibly, namely, in 1807, by an English squadron commanded by Sir John Duckworth, who forced the passage with nine ships of the line, three frigates, and several fire-ships, and seized and burnt a Turkish squadron at Gallipoli. But his retreat was not effected without some loss. In the interesting account which James gives

of Sir John's return through the Dardanelles, we are told that "the *Active* received a granite shot weighing 800 lbs., and measuring six feet six inches in circumference, which passed through her side two feet above the water, and lodged on the orlop deck, close to the magazine scuttle, without injuring a man. The aperture made by it was so wide that Captain Mowbray, on looking over the side, saw two of his crew thrusting their heads through at the same moment. Had there been a necessity for hauling to the wind on the opposite tack, she must have gone down." Perhaps, of all the eight batteries that guard the channel, the most formidable is that of Chanah-Kalesi, or the Inner Fort of Asia. During the time that our squadron was recently at anchor near it, it was thrown open to the inspection of our naval officers, and every attention was paid to them by the Pacha in command. These stone shots are a peculiarity of the artillery of the fortifications on the Dardanelles; but at present, with steam war-ships, it is probable that the strait would be cleared without serious loss. Its defences, moreover, are open on the land side, and it would be sufficient for some few thousand men to land in the Bay of Cardia, at the extremity of the Gulf of Saros, and to take them in reverse; the coast of Europe dominating everywhere that of Asia, the capture of the European forts would immediately entail the loss of those opposite.

The navigation of the Hellespont is difficult. The current which hurries along the waters of the Black Sea into the Ægean, and which runs at the rate of 5,560 metres an hour, is only opposed by a counter-current running along the coast of Asia and coming from the Archipelago. The winds from the north blow with great force here during summer, and from the south during winter.

The Hellespont has been crossed under remarkable circumstances, by armies: by Xerxes and his million of soldiers, by the crusaders of the Third Crusade in 1189, by the Turks in 1356, &c.

The strait widens and becomes the Sea of Marmora between *Lampsaki* in Asia, and *Gallipoli* in Europe. This

last-named town has a good port, and from 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, but is dirty, gloomy and miserable; it was the first point conquered by the Turks in Europe; it commands the entrance of the strait. The Isthmus of Gallipoli is only two leagues broad, and was closed in former times by a wall flanked by three fortresses, Cardia, Sysimachia, and Pattiæ. The possession of this isthmus is indispensable to whomsoever seeks to keep the strait, and consequently the Black Sea. Gallipoli was occupied in 1854 by French troops, who had fortified the isthmus and made the peninsula the base of their occupation of Turkey in Europe.

The Sea of Marmora has 253 square myriametres of surface. It is deep, easily navigable, disturbed only by the great current of the Black Sea; it is masked, at its entrance, by the Island of Marmora, famous for its marble quarries. On the coast of Asia, which is sinuous, the peninsula of *Cyzicus* and the gulfs of *Moundania* and *Nicomedia;* upon the coast of Europe, which is nearly straight, *Rodosto*, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, *Grekli*, the ancient Heraclea, which is now nothing more than a village, and *Silivri*, the ancient Selymbria, a mediocre port defended by a fortress. It was between Heraclea and Selymbria that the *Macron Teichos*, or great wall of Anastasius commenced, which extended as far as Derkon, on the Black Sea, and enclosed that angle of land which ends at the Bosphorus and terminates Europe. It was constructed under the Lower Empire to defend Constantinople against the barbarians; its length was fifteen leagues, and it formed the base of a triangle of which Constantinople occupied the apex: vestiges of it are still visible. From Silivri the coast is skirted by the route from Adrianople to Constantinople, a rugged road, intercepted by torrents and having several bridges. At the extremity of the Sea of Marmora lie the rocky and picturesque isles called *Isles of the Princes*, and which contain several Greek monasteries. Then the sea narrows into another maritime stream, the Thracian Bosphorus, at the entrance of which stands Constantinople.

4. *The Bosphorus.*

The Thracian Bosphorus, or Strait of Constantinople, is a winding channel, nineteen miles long, and only half the width of the Dardanelles, varying from 600 to 3,700 metres. Its general direction is from north-west to south-east. It is a maritime inlet, which has no equal in the world for the depth of its bed, the limpidity of its waters, and the beauty of its shores. Exceedingly steep, those shores are furrowed by embanked valleys, at the outlets of which seaward are bays that afford the safest anchorage; so that the entire channel may be regarded as the roadstead of Constantinople, a roadstead of seven to eight leagues in length, capable of holding all the ships of Europe. It is very sinuous, and the saliant angles of one shore correspond so exactly with the re-entering angles of the other, that both would dovetail easily if the same cause which separated them could occur to reunite them. Throughout its length it is skirted by picturesque rocks, verdant hills, magnificent foliage, clear rivulets, smiling villages, mosques, fountains, wooden houses of light and quaint architecture, which are embowered with climbing plants and hedges of flowers. Not an islet, reef or sandbank impedes the waterway; ships of war approach so close to the banks and houses that they strip off foliage from the trees; each village has its quay, alongside which the largest vessels can anchor. This channel, ploughed incessantly by hundreds of ships, barques and vessels of every kind, presents a most animated spectacle; giving Constantinople an aspect of life, prosperity and happiness. Its navigation is not at all times nor everywhere easy, on account of the current from the Black Sea, which breaks itself upon all the salient angles, and forms eddies which must be struggled against. It is always easy to enter into the Bosphorus, and it is almost always difficult to get out of it.

With, respect, therefore, to the second access to Con-

stantinople by sea, the Bosphorus, here the elements seem to second a fleet coming out of the Black Sea. An almost uninterrupted northerly wind, which blows during the summer months, and a current which flows towards the south at the rate of two and a half miles an hour are sure to carry the ships right down to Constantinople; but in what sort of condition they would arrive there is quite another question. The terraced batteries by the side of the European and Asiatic lighthouses, on either side of the entrance, are two-and-a-half miles asunder, but between the castles of Karibsche and Poiros the distance is only half as great. These forts (built by Baron Tott, the French Ambassador), of soft green sandstone, have three stories of artillery, of which the second is casemated. The lowest is completely flooded at high water by the waves of the Euxine. These forts are defended towards the land by round casemated towers, which stand detached on the high ground.

Next to these batteries are Bujuk Liman, which lies on the European shore, *à fleur d'eau*, and Filburnu on the Asiatic, perched high up on the side of a rocky cliff. These were built in 1794 by the French engineer Mounnier. But the real defence consists in the co-operation of the four great forts, Roumeli and Anadoli Kawak, Tellitabia, and Madjar Kalessi. Between these forts the Bosphorus is only 1,497 and 1,245 paces wide, and 166 heavy guns are so placed that they can concentrate their fire and support each other. A ship, while engaged in the closest fight with one of the batteries, is raked from stem to stern by all the rest. Nothing can be more favourable in this respect than the position of Madjar Kalessi, especially as the plateau, thirty or forty feet above the sixty guns *à fleur d'eau*, affords facilities for the construction of a terraced battery. The still defensible ruins of an old Genoese castle protect the fort from a *coup de main* from the land. Lower down the Bosphorus again widens, and there are only a few small batteries on the European side. In fact, only the northern end of the Bosphorus is calculated for defence, as the suburbs of

Constantinople extend along its beautiful shore for nearly fourteen miles without interruption.

The heights between which the Bosphorus winds like a broad river rise towards the Black Sea to an elevation of 800 feet. Near the Sea of Marmora they are much lower and flatter, but fall steeply, in many places precipitously, down to the Straits. This formation of the ground causes the batteries on the shore to be commanded, and greatly facilitates an attack upon them from the land, which could scarcely be prevented by the detached forts in their gorges. The disembarkation of troops for this purpose on the Asiatic coast would present considerable difficulty, as it is bounded almost on every side by steep basaltic cliffs. The nearest bay on the European coast, that of Kilios, is defended by a square fort with narrow bastions, and a wall twenty feet high; but a landing might be effected by means of flat-bottomed boats on any part of the low sandy beach between Kilios and Lake Derkos.

In order, however, to open the Bosphorus to a fleet by these means, says Count von Moltke,* it would be necessary to land troops on both shores, as the batteries of either side are sufficient to prevent the passage; and this might not be so easy, on account of the immediate vicinity of the capital, where a few thousand men could always be found to oppose such an attempt.

Moreover, the two old castles, Roumeli and Anadoli-Hissar, which were built by the Turks immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, at the narrowest point of the Bosphorus, where the shores are only 958 paces asunder, afford excellent sites for two large batteries. It would be impossible to take them by a *coup-de-main* upon the gorge, especially in the case of the European fort, which is secured against anything of the kind by walls forty feet high, with strong battlements and gigantic towers. The ground falls so suddenly within the walls that no view of it can be obtained from the hills behind, though they are much higher. Lastly, on the Seraglio Point, and the lofty open place of the Gulham, 100 cannon might be mounted, which

* "On the Bulgarian Campaign of 1828-9."

would be perfectly safe, and would command the passage between Constantinople and Scutari, which at this point is no wider than the narrowest part of the Dardanelles.

Near the Castle of Asia, Anadoli-Hissar, are the *Sweet Waters*, a delightful promenade on the banks of a little river, much frequented by the women of Constantinople and by holiday parties—like Hampstead and Highgate. To the north of the Castle of Europe, Roumeli-Hissar, is the village of *Baltadiman*, celebrated by the Convention of 1849. Beyond the castles, the Bosphorus widens, the hills are discrowned of their verdure, but the shores are well-wooded and populous. Sailing eastwards the voyager passes on the coast of Asia a deep bay, that of *Beïkos*, where the English and French fleets were stationed in 1853, and near which is *Unkiar Skelessi*, celebrated by the treaty of 1833; next is seen, on the coast of Europe, the charming village of *Therapia*, where are the country houses of the French and English Ambassadors; then an indentation of the shore as profound as that of Beïkos, the gulf of *Buyukdere*, with a small port for vessels to put in at that are leaving the Bosphorus. It is renowned for the beauty of its waters and magnificent depth of shade. Opposite, on the coast of Asia, juts out a huge mass, the *Giant's Grave*, whence may be enjoyed an enchanting panorama. On one hand is descried the termination of the Bosphorus and the majestic entrance to the Black Sea; on the other, are the delightful landscapes of the channel, and in the far distance the minarets of Constantinople.

5. *Macedonia.*

Macedonia is surrounded on the north-east by the chain of Rhodope; on the north, by the series of high plateaux and of mountains that we have called Central Balkan and Eastern Balkan; on the west, by the Hellenic Alps; on the south, by a vast counter-slope of those Alps which are terminated by Mount Olympus. It is a country with distinct boundaries and occupying a central position, on

the one side, between the neighbouring region of the Adriatic Sea, or Albania; on the other side, between the region which touches on the Straits and on the Black Sea, or Thrace; finally, between the southern portions of the Hellenic peninsula. That position explains the part which it has played in antiquity, and that which it may yet play. It is almost wholly mountainous, but with vast plains of great fertility, and it is remarkable by the peninsula which it projects, the *Chalcidian*, so important in ancient times, and which seems, by its position and its ports, destined to dominate the Ægean Sea. It is, moreover, a country, the geography of which is very little known and wherein explorations might be made as in the unknown parts of Africa.

The Rhodope Mountains, the scene of the Mussulman insurrection, are famous in classical fable as the last home of Orpheus. It was to "Rhodope's snows," whence "Hebrus wanders, rolling in meanders, all alone," that the divine maestro of mythical song retired after the loss of his Eurydice. When or whence the Hebrus took the name of Maritza, by which it is at present known, is not easy to determine, but it is found in the history of Georgius Acropolita, who lived in 1222. According to Plutarch, it once bore the name of Rhombus, and Pliny mentions it as one of the five auriferous rivers of the world, the others being the Tagus, the Po, the Pactolus, and the Ganges. The washing of the sands, however, do not seem to have justified the reputation in later times, as Belon, in the sixteenth century, represents the inhabitants as not finding enough of the precious metal to repay them for their trouble. The Rhodope forms four parallel chains from W.N.W. to S.S.E., the highest peak of which, 8,600 feet, is in Macedonia. The villages mentioned in the telegrams as the centres of the recent insurrection vary from twenty-five to forty miles in distance from Adrianople. The largest of them, Demotika, has about 6,000 inhabitants, and is placed at the foot of a conical hill, crowned by a citadel, formerly a residence of the Sultans. Here Bayazid II. was poisoned after his deposition by his son,

Selim Yavuz; and here also Charles XII. of Sweden passed a year of his eccentric exile after Pultava.

Macedonia comprehends the basins of the *Mesto* the *Strouma*, the *Vardar*, the *Vistritza*, and the *Indjé-Karasou*. 1. The *Mesto* occupies a great valley parallel to the Rhodope, a savage valley encircled, on the left, by the principal crest of that chain; on the right, by a longitudinal counter-slope, the *Perin-Dagh*, abounding in iron mines. It waters a single important locality, *Raslouk*, the outlet of the *col* of Bania, already spoken of in describing the Maritza basin. 2. The *Strouma*, the ancient Strymon, occupies a very extensive basin, which is almost wholly mountainous, thinly inhabited in its upper part, fertile and well populated in his lower portion. That river descends from a remarkable mass, whereat the Western Balkan, the Central Balkan and the Veliki-Balkan meet together: it runs through a deep valley, skirted on the north-west by the mass of Mount Vitoch, waters *Radomir*, a small town which stands at the outlet of the route from Sophia, or from Servia into Macedonia, passes near *Kostendil* or *Giustendil*, a fortified town, which defends the road just mentioned, important by its factories and mines; the native country of Justinian. Then it receives an affluent, the high basin of which blends with the plateau of Samakov, and which crosses the road from Samakov to *Doubnitza*, the route from Thrace into Upper Macedonia. It then flows on to *Djouma*, traverses a series of deep gorges and verdant plains, and is skirted at a distance, on one side by the Perin-Dagh, on the other by the Karatova mountains (900 metres high), mountains almost entirely unknown, that separate it from the Vardar.

The Strouma thus reaches its middle basin, where it finds itself circumscribed on the right by the *Plach Kavitza* mountains, which surround its principal affluent and are not less than from 1,000 to 1,200 metres high. It waters no remarkable town, but it receives the *Stroumitza* the basin of which is fertile and populous, and which passes by *Radovich* and *Stroumitza*.

In its lower basin, the Strouma is no longer hemmed in

save by hills of from 300 to 600 metres elevation; these hills, on the right, descend to 300 metres between the gulfs of Salonika and Orfano, and rise up again to form the frame-work of the Chalcidian peninsula. In this lower basin, the river passes at some two leagues from *Seres*, a large commercial and industrial town of 20,000 inhabitants, and which is the chief mart for the cottons of Macedonia. It is situated in a plain twelve leagues long and three in width, the blackish, briny soil of which is favourable to all kinds of cultivation: it is the best cultivated tract in all Turkey, one of the richest in Europe, especially in cotton and tobacco, and is surrounded by picturesque mountains whose flanks are covered with vineyards. The Strouma traverses the marshy lake of Takino, and there receives, on the left, the *Anghista*, a river that descends from the Perin-Dagh and runs at some two leagues from *Drama*, a town built near the ruins of the ancient Philippi, and important by its forges; then it throws itself into the Gulf of Orfano or Contessa.

Between the gulfs of Orfano and Salonika, or between the mouths of the Strouma and the Vardar, projects the Chalcidian peninsula, a hilly country but very fertile, which, after spreading itself between the two gulfs, divides into three peninsulas, separated by the three gulfs of Cassandra, Longhus and Mount Athos, and connected with the continent only by narrow and sandy isthmuses. The highest and most celebrated is that of Mount *Athos*, the culminating point of which attains 1,672 metres, and serves as a beacon for navigators in the Ægean Sea. It is dotted with monasteries, cultivated patches, woods of oak and olive trees, and almost entirely inhabited by monks. The Chalcidian, which could support 150,000 inhabitants, has not at the present time 25,000; Potidæa, Olynthus, Torone, Stagira, Apollonia and Chalcis, so famous in the history of Greece, no longer exist.

3. The *Vardar* (Axius) has the most extensive basin, the most confused and the least perfectly known in Macedonia. This basin is circumscribed, on the east by the mountains that separate it from the Strouma (Mounts

Karatova, Plachkavitza, &c.); on the north by the chain we have called Eastern Balkan (Mounts Kourbetzka, Kara-Dagh, Tchar-Dagh); on the west, first by the portion of the Hellenic Alps called the *Dibres*, which separate the waters of the Ægean from those of the Adriatic Sea, and which attain an elevation of 1,700 metres; next by the Okhrida mountains, which belong also to the Hellenic Alps; finally by a mountainous chaos which separates it from the Indjé Karason, and of which the *Soa-Gora*, to the north of Monastir, forms the highest portion.

The Vardar descends from the eastern and most elevated portion of the Tchar-Dagh, runs from west to east, through a fine and deep valley crowned by mountainous masses 3,000 metres high, waters the little town of Kalkandel, standing at an elevation of 400 metres and situated in a plain that resembles a garden, traverses a series of shallow gorges, and, a little before reaching Uskioup, receives on the north the *Lepenatz*. That torrent-like river takes its birth upon the western slope of the Tchar-Dagh, and traverses a plateau which is a prolongation of the plain of Kassova, the separation between it and the Ibar being marked only by insignificant hills; it waters *Katschanik*, a small town with an old fortress celebrated in the history of Servia, and which defends the important route from Pristina to Uskioup, or the communication of Bosnia and Macedonia; it cuts the mass of the Kara-Dagh in a deep breach, and unites itself to the Vardar.

The latter waters *Uskioup* or *Scopia*, a town of 15,000 inhabitants, defended by an old fortress, and very important by its position at the outlet of three routes of the first order: 1. That of Bosnia, just mentioned; 2. That of Prisrend, or of Albania into Macedonia; 3. That of Kostendil, or of Thrace into Macedonia. Above Uskioup, it traverses a country scantily peopled and little known, and receives on the east a torrent which runs through a deep valley, between mounts Kourbetska and Karatova; that torrent, the *Kriva-Rieka*, passes near *Egri Palanka*, the outlet of the road from Kostendil.

The Vardar next waters *Kiupruli*, a small town that has

given its name to a celebrated family of Viziers; it receives affluents which traverse mountainous and little known countries: the principal is the *Tzerna-Rieka*, the course and direction of which are only known by fragments. It is thought that this river takes its source in the Dibres; after having traversed a mountainous and unknown valley, it passes near to *Bitolia* or *Monastir*, a town of from 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants, situated in a sort of huge cavity, the periphery of which is formed by verdant mountains that the Soa-Gora crowns with its snowy mass. That rich plain, of twelve leagues long by three wide, is entirely destitute of trees, grooved by water courses and covered with the most fecund cultivation; it is inhabited by the finest population of Macedonia. From Monastir sets out a road which takes the direction of Okhrida, in Albania: it was in antiquity the finest of any in the peninsula, and that which joined the most directly Rome with Constantinople, by Dyrrachium on one side, and on the other by Thessalonica. It traverses the snowy, rocky, wooded chain of the Dibres by the difficult *col* of Risna: it is called the Egnatian way, and its solidity has enabled it to resist in many places the action of eighteen centuries. The Tzerna-Rieka, after passing at some leagues from *Filurina*, situated upon the highway already mentioned, runs through a deep breach in the *Babousa* mountains; then it returns towards the north through a country almost entirely unknown, and unites itself with the Vardar.

The Vardar traverses next a less mountainous region, bordered by little plains fertile in cotton and tobacco, picturesque hillocks and forests; it waters no remarkable place, and, across a low and marshy plain, it terminates in the Gulf of Salonika, at the end of which stands the important town of that name.—*Salonika* (Thessalonica) is situated at the foot of Mount Courtiah in a fine plain; it is the second commercial city of Turkey in Europe; it possesses excellent factories of cotton, silk stuffs, and carpets, &c. It is defended by a massive wall, two forts and a citadel, which dates from the Middle Ages; but

it is dirty, tortuous, badly built, and numbers 70,000 inhabitants.

4. The *Vistritza* (Eordæus) springs from mountains which embank the Tzerna-Rieka; it runs through a beautiful valley covered with fruit trees and cultivated fields, waters *Vodena* (Edessa), the seat and sepulchre of the Macedonian Kings, and below that town, precipitates itself by four great falls of from twenty-five to thirty metres into the midst of a delightful plain. Nothing in Turkey equals the beauty and grace of these cascades, above which a magnificent view is enjoyed that extends as far as the circumference of the noble gulf of Salonika. It passes next near to *Jenidje* (Pella), an important position which dominates the rich plain comprised between Lake Jenidje and the sea, an ancient residence of the Kings of Macedonia; then it traverses the lake of that name, over plains fertile but swampy, and terminates in the Gulf of Salonika.

5. The *Indjé-Karasou* (Haliacmon) descends from the Grammos Mountains, which belong to the Hellenic Alps, under the name of *Biclista;* it leaves on the left *Castoria*, situated on an inner lake and where one of the routes from Albania into Macedonia opens out: then it runs through a beautiful valley dotted with cultivation and villages, circumscribed on the north by the Bourenos (Bermius) Mountains, 1,000 metres high, on the west, by the Grammos Mountains, on the south, by the great chain which separates it from Thessaly and of which mention will be made further on. It passes near *Servia*, a small town situate at the outlet of the principal route of Thessaly, leaves on the right *Veria* (Beræa), an important place from its numerous population, its factories and its position, and terminates in the Gulf of Salonika.

Macedonia is one of the most fertile provinces of the Ottoman Empire; it produces chiefly cotton, corn, oil, &c.; its mountains furnish magnificent timber and mineral products badly worked. The climate is excellent, the air pure and salubrious. Its inhabitants are what they were in the time of Alexander—handsome, strong, active, intelligent, and warlike. It is chiefly thence those Euro-

pean Turks have come, of Hellenic origin, but converted to Islamism, who have aggrandized and maintained the Ottoman Empire: we will cite among them only the three viziers Kupruli, and the Pacha of Egypt Mehemet Ali, born at *Cavalla*, a little fortified port upon the route from Salonika to Constantinople.

Macedonia contains about 1,500 square leagues, and a population of 1,028,141 inhabitants, of which 429,410 only are Mussulmans; the remainder Greek Christians.

6. *Thessaly.*

Thessaly is comprised in a quadrangular valley, one of the most fertile in the world, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains upon which formerly were seated seventy-five towns that no longer exist, or are reduced to small villages. This valley, which was probably a lake before its river had opened a passage through Ossa and Olympus, is that of *Salembria* or the *Peneus*, the orographic belt of which is formed by:

1. To the north, the *Krouschevo* Mountains (the Lyncæus and Pæus of the ancients) which, detached from Pindus, separate the Salembria from the Haliacmon. Although they rise to an elevation of 1,500 metres, their ridges, partly wooded, partly bare, form only an imperfect barrier between Macedonia and Thessaly, and numerous defiles traverse them: the most remarkable being that of *Saranto-Poros*, 800 metres high, which leads from Servia to Larissa. The prolongation of the Krouschevo Mountains is the *Olympus*, the counter-slopes of which sink down in the vicinity of the sea-coast, between the mouths of the Indjé-Karasou and the Salembria. The Olympus is a mountainous mass formed by a vast aggregation surmounted by three summits of unequal height, breasted by heavy counter-slopes and which at a distance presents a most majestic aspect, although the highest peak has only an elevation of 2,036 metres; it is furrowed by torrents, covered with forests and dotted with monasteries. From

its summits an enchanting prospect of the whole of Thessaly, Pindus, the Chalcidian peninsula, Negropont and the Ægean Sea is obtained. Its eastern slope is skirted by an important route which joins Macedonia to Thessaly, goes along the Thermian Gulf, passes through the gorges of Pydna, and traverses the Vale of Tempe. It is defended on the side of Macedonia by the fort of *Platamona*, built on a counter-slope of the Olympus.

2. On the west, by the central and highest portion of the Hellenic Alps, called the Pindus. This portion has the character of the great chains of Europe; averaging an elevation of 2,000 metres, it has summits whereon the snow lies unmelted during the greater part of the year, and it is only traversed by very difficult passes. The principal is the defile of Mezzovo, which opens the great communication of Epirus with Thessaly.

3. To the south, by Mounts *Hellovo* (Othryx) and *Goura*, a detached counter-slope of Pindus, which separates the Salembria from the Hellada. The Hellovo is 1,150 metres and the Goura 900 metres high; these mountains are entirely covered with forests. The Goura is traversed by the route from Pharsalia to Zeitoun, the principal communication of Thessaly with Greece, and which passes through the defile of Daoukli, 800 metres high.

4. To the east, by Mounts Pelion and Ossa. The Goura Mountains are joined to Pelion by a line of hills which environ the Gulf of Volo, and which have for counter-slopes the heights named *Cynocephali*, so celebrated in antiquity, and where a battle was fought between the Roman legions and the Macedonian phalanx. The Pelion, now the *Plessidi*, and Ossa, now the *Kissovo*, form a fine distinct chain bordering the coast, from the canal of Trikeri to the mouth of the Salembria: the first having an elevation of 1,200 metres, the second 1,500. Their seaward slopes comprehend ancient Magnesia, now the canton of *Zagori*, the most populous and most industrious country of Thessaly and one of the most prosperous in the Ottoman Empire. It is wholly peopled by Greeks enjoying great freedom, and who find themselves placed

rather under the protection than the subjection of the Sultan, to whom they only pay a tribute. It is the cultivation and spinning of cotton that have made the wealth of this country. Its products are conveyed chiefly from the Port of Volo, the ancient Demetria, formerly one of the keys of the peninsula, situate upon the noble gulf of the same name, and which carries on a very important commerce with Asiatic Turkey and Italy.

The Salembria or Peneus descends from Pindus, and traverses at first a deep ravine which forms the route of the Mezzovo defile; it leaves on the right the steep rocks called Meteores, isolated obelisks or pyramids, at the summits of which monasteries are perched, only to be entered by being hoisted up in baskets; then it becomes embanked between lofty wooded mountains, waters *Stagous*, formerly *Gomphi*, an important township by its position. Then the mountains diminish in height and open out on both sides. The stream, less restricted, turns to the south; then returning towards the east, it enters upon a great plain, where a rich soil, fine pastures, groves of walnut and mulberry trees, vines climbing up in festoons, and olive trees covering all the slopes, announce one of the most fertile countries of Greece. It thus waters *Tricala*, a small town of 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, important by its position, defended by a poor fort, and one of the keys of the province; then it traverses the upper plain of Thessaly, a plain only some 100 metres above the sea-level, formed of a deep black soil, and which yields the richest harvests of maize, corn, cotton and tobacco. After skirting the Cynocephali, the river enters upon its lower plain, where it waters *Larissa*, a large town of 20,000 inhabitants, with broad streets and an appearance of cleanliness not to be found elsewhere throughout Turkey. This town is the centre of the basin routes. The plain on which it stands extends as far as the valley of Tempe, but is not higher than from twenty to thirty metres above the sea-level; it is still more fertile than the upper plain, and produces more olive-trees, excellent fruits and magnificent pastures. On quitting this plain, the river, after having

passed *Ambelakia*, one of the chief centres of Zagorian industry, enters a deep ravine hollowed out between Olympus and Ossa; on both sides overhang enormous rocks, sometimes bare and cleft at their base, sometimes tapestried with grass or shaded by sycamores and oaks. Such is the defile of *Tempe*, which in winter assumes an aspect the most sombre and savage, but which in summer is enlivened by bright verdure and sparkling waterfalls. The most picturesque portion is that where a huge torrent springs forth skirted by vertical walls, above which sits enthroned the mass of Kissovo, 350 metres high. The defile opens by degrees, and the traveller quits this deep gorge to enter upon a fertile plain, in the middle of which the river meanders about in large sweeps, before plunging itself into the sea near the little port of *Caritza*. That abrupt transit from a tract of sombre and savage nature to one decked in the most brilliant colours accounts for all the celebrity attaching to the vale of Tempe, which is really beautiful only by its contrasts.*

The Salembria receives numerous affluents which have the same character as itself, and run like it, through fertile valleys; the most considerable is the *Sataljé* (Enipeus), traversing fine plains that are only separated from the Gulf of Volo by the heights which join the Othryx to Pelion; the little valleys of these affluents are comparable to the undulations of the sea when gently agitated, and the country which they pass through is only composed of waves of earth with contours curved in soft ripples. Upon this river stands *Pharsalia*, a small town of 6,000 inhabitants, celebrated by the battle between Cæsar and Pompey.

Thessaly has a surface of 550 square leagues; its population is estimated at 250,000 souls, of which 50,000 are Mussulmans. It is the most Hellenic country of the Ottoman Empire.

* Beaujour, "Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman," tom. i. p. 187.

7. *The Balkans.*

The Balkan Mountains, geographically speaking, belong to the Eastern portion of the lofty region which composes the greater part of the Helleno-Turkish and Balkan Peninsula. They lie within the space bounded by the Euxine, the Ægean, and the Adriatic Seas. The principal chain—with which we have here to deal as a strategic barrier—is the Hæmus* of ancient geography, and begins at Cape Emineh, on the Black Sea. It extends westward, in a direction generally parallel to the Lower Danube, for a distance of between two and three hundred miles, and then inclines to the north-west and the north, through Servia, in which latter direction it ends on the right bank of the Danube at the point known as the Iron Gates, through which the river forces its passage. In this latter section the chain lies along the right bank of the Morava, an affluent of the Danube, and the scene of the Servian campaign of 1876. The general elevation of the various groups known as Balkan Mountains is moderate, seldom exeeeding 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea level, although a few summits exceed 5,000 feet, the highest of which is Mount Orbelos, to the south-west of Sofia. A south-easterly extension of the system, known as the Little Balkans, reaches to the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople and the shores of the Bosphorus. Another and much more extensive and elevated portion of these islands, divided from the Balkans proper by the valley of the Maritza (Hebrus), bears the name of the Despoto-Dagh, and is the ancient Rhodope. The higher summits of the latter reach from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

The Balkans proper consist of a main ridge, and two lower parallel ones on the north and south of it. The ascent generally is steeper and more abrupt on the southern than on the northern side. On the latter the lowlands

* O, qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!
Virgil, Georg. lib. ii. line 488.

at the base of the range for a considerable distance are covered with a dense underwood of oak, calculated seriously to impede the direct advance of an army with its trains. All the mountains are of calcareous formation, broken by granitic protuberances. The tops of the lower hills on the northern slope are perfectly flat, from which the sides fall in perpendicular walls of rock, varying from ten to two hundred feet in height, and often forming the most singular defiles. The higher range is clothed with magnificent forests of beeches and oaks, interspersed with extensive patches of firs. The clay soil in wet weather renders such roads as these almost impassable, and most of the traffic over the passes is carried on by pack animals. The chief passes are clearly marked in Mr. Stanford's large-scale map, and are pretty much the same, of course, as they were in 1828-9, with the exception that one or two of them were rendered more practicable for artillery during the late war. The six following roads are the chief practicable ones for an invading army:—1. From Tirnovo to Gabrova, both then occupied in force by the Russians, to Kasanlik, over the Shipka Pass. This is an easy road, comparatively speaking, and could be forced without much difficulty, but the Russians turned it by their vanguard crossing over by the Kalifer mule track. The Kasanlik valley is extremely fertile, abounds in orchards and rose-gardens, and its inhabitants exercise a considerable industry in the manufacture of cloths and carpets. 2. From Tirnovo to Monastir, and over the Demir Kapoo, or Iron Gate Pass, to Slivno or Islimiyeh. 3. From Osman-Bazar by Kasan and the Shotureh Pass, to the village of Shotureh, thence on the right to Slivno and on the left to Karinabad or Karnabad. This pass is also known as the Kasan. Both this and the previous route is very difficult, but the gorge of the Iron Gate, which, as the name would indicate, is a serious obstruction, may be turned by a circuitous path from Kasan to Slivno. The country to the south of these passes is as beautiful and fertile as the Kasanlik valley. 4. From Shumla by two routes which join at Tchalikavak, thence by Dobroll over

the Bozza Pass to Karnabad. As far as Tchalikavak the road offers no difficulties, but after passing this town it winds through gloomy ravines and along giddy precipices to the top, whence it descends by a very steep defile to the Roumelian Valley. Entrenchments recently constructed would render the forcing the pass a very formidable undertaking, if they were defended by the Osmanlis with their usual obstinacy. 5. From Pravadi, on the Varna and Rustchuk Railway, by the Chenga Pass, to Aidos. This road offers some difficulties, which, are not, however, insuperable. The passage of the Kamtchick River would be troublesome, as it has few fords, and its banks are everywhere precipitous; and the defile itself is only fifty paces wide in one place, with lofty perpendicular walls of rock. This obstacle can also be turned by following the road to Yenikoi, or using a mule-track called the Kirk-Getyin, or pass of forty fords, from the pass crossing and frequently recrossing a small mountain stream. General Diebitch traversed this pass in 1829 with a small column, and with little or no opposition.

6. From Varna, along the Euxine Coast, by the pass near Palasden to the seaport and Bay of Burghas. The Kamtchik River and the thick forests along this route give the Turks many opportunities for a successful defence. In the heart of the mountains there are no lateral valleys affording easy communication from one pass to another, but along the southern base there are fair roads, by which columns that have successfully cleared the defiles, could concentrate with rapidity all along the line from Kasanlik to Burghas. In addition to the passes described above, there are numerous mule-tracks and sheep-walks by which infantry can easily be conducted by the Bulgarian guides, so as to turn any defensive positions on the regular roads. The Shipka Pass in the possession of the Russians and strongly held by them, *il n'y a plus des Balkans* for the Turks; but the scare occasioned by the bold passage of General Gourko's division has been a little exaggerated. The real strength of the Balkans lies in the Quadrilateral. "So long as Varna or

Schumla, or even one of these strongholds, can be retained by the Ottomans," says Count Moltke, "passing the Balkans will always be a hazardous undertaking." Since he wrote this he himself has practically shown how fortresses can be neutralized and war carried home to the objective point at the same time. The only requisite is a sufficiency of troops. Nevertheless, the cardinal maxim of war, to secure communications, holds good.

Schipka, in the Bulgarian tongue, means the wild rose, and the village of eight hundred houses situated at the foot of the pass bears the same designation. It is well-named, for all the inhabitants of the fairy-like valley lately ravaged by war are engaged in the cultivation and sale of roses. "The little town of Kasanlyk," writes Count Moltke, in one of his letters from the East, "is hidden behind a forest of gigantic walnut-trees. Its minarets do not rise above the mountains of foliage and branches under which it is buried." How abundant is the water in this part of the country can scarcely be conceived. As in Lombardy, every field and garden is watered by streams conveyed in ditches and trenches. Kasanlik is the Cashmere of Europe—the Ghulistan, "the Gardens of Ghul," of the Turks. The rose is not there, as with us, cultivated in pots or in gardens, but in fields and on the banks, like potatoes. Nothing is more pleasant to the sight than a field of rose bushes. Millions of red leaves are spread out over the bright green of the rose fields, and, nevertheless, just then perhaps only a quarter of the buds are opening out. Kasanlik is the place where is manufactured the greatest quantity of the Turkish attar of roses—a perfume which it is difficult to get pure even in Constantinople. Twenty thousand roses, it is calculated, will yield on an average about one hundred and seventy-six grammes weight of the precious attar, but in India it is, as in Turkey, commonly adulterated with sandal-wood oil, or diluted with sweet salad oils.

CHAPTER III.

Provinces of the Adriatic Sea.

It has been shown already that the watershed of the Ægean Sea bristles all along with extended counter-slopes perpendicular to the littoral and leaving large valleys between them. It is not the same with the watershed of the Adriatic Sea: the counter-slopes are there parallel to the littoral and disposed in stages; the watershed sinks down in a series of terraces more or less short, serving as epaulements to another chain of mountains, and which are only broken at certain points to allow the waters with which they are furrowed to escape. There results from this configuration a very great confusion in the release of the soil, which is more complicated than elsewhere throughout Turkey.

1. *Herzegovina.*

The Dinaric Alps, as has been said above, are divided into two parallel stages comprising between them lofty plateaux: the lowest crest, or that nearest the sea, belongs to the Dalmatian Alps; the highest and more massive crest, farthest from the sea, belongs to the Bosnian Alps, already described. The country comprised between these two ranges of mountains is Herzegovina, which finds itself thus bordered—on the sea-coast by Austrian Dalmatia, on the side of the mountains by Bosnia, to the north touching Croatia, to the south Albania

Herzegovina, which has so many administrative relations with Bosnia, presents quite a different aspect: instead of

the forests and waterfalls, the fertile and picturesque valleys of Bosnia, it presents only bare and broken-up mountains, arid and stony plains, torrent-like water-courses that lose themselves underground, or reach the sea only through deep breaches. The whole of the plateaux of which it is composed is traversed by a hilly saddle intermediary between the Bosnian and Dalmatian Alps, parallel to those two chains, and which is the natural limit between the productive and the sterile mountains. Its highest portion is the *Velesh*, in the vicinity of Mostar; upon its northern reverse are magnificent woods, fine pastures, and rivers having a regular course; upon its southern reverse are masses of naked rocks, furrowed by waterless valleys, or at most with here and there oases traversed by rivers which spring up fully formed, and which are lost ere flowing far in abysses; these issueless valleys are inundated or dried up according to the season.

The routes which set out from the littoral and traverse the mountains to reach Bosnia are by no means of a favourable character; they are only bad pathways parallel to the mountains.

The most important basins of the Herzegovina are those of the Narenta, the Pistritza and the Trebinstizza; these two last are issueless. They are formed by the Bosnian and Dalmatian Alps and the detached counter-slopes of those two chains.

On the *Pistritza* stands *Livno*, a town of from 5,000 to 6,000 inhabitants, at the foot of the Zizer, a huge counter-slope of the Bosnian chain; it is surrounded by an *enceinte* flanked with towers.

The *Narenta* takes its source upon the northern reverse of the Valesh, runs along the southern reverse of the Ivan mountains, turns to the south, cuts the intermediary chain above *Mostar*, and waters that town, situated in a fertile plain and which boasts of 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants; it is the residence of the Pacha of Herzegovina; it has a citadel with an *enceinte* flanked by towers; its exterior aspect is picturesque, but it is as dirty and wretched as other Turkish towns.

Upon the *Trebinstizza* stands *Trebigne*, a small town defended by a fort. The only cultivation in all that valley is that which surrounds the town.

The Herzegovina is a poor country, thinly peopled, the inhabitants of which, of Slav race, are almost all Mussulmans, but of those rude, cruel, ignorant Mussulmans of whom mention has already been made.

2. *Montenegro.*

The most confused and densest portion of the interior plateaux which has just been described is to be found between the Gulf of Cattaro, the Lake of Scutari, and the sources of the Drina: that portion is called the *Tzerna-Gora* or *Montenegro*. It is separated from the Herzegovina by a counter-slope of the Ivan mountains, the *Piostori* mountains, which join the Dalmatian Alps, towards the Gulf of Cattaro, upon which they terminate in gigantic escarpments. The counter-slopes of the Bosnian and Dalmatian Alps there ramify, in such a way that they make of that region an inextricable chaos of small plateaux, entirely bare and arid, of little valleys where the water-courses have no issue; finally, of more open valleys, which belong to the basin of the Moracca. This country, of scant fertility, badly cultivated, having fine forests and rich pastures, but where the water-courses only escape through rocky walls, contains a hundred of villages or hamlets built at the foot or around monasteries which resemble fortresses. The chief place is *Cettinje*, a small town of some eighty houses, clustered round a monastery wherein resides the *wladika* or chief of the Montenegrin confederation. That confederation is composed of five cantons, inhabited by 60,000 individuals, of Slav race, of the Greek church, very warlike, very strongly attached to the soil, and who have succeeded in achieving their independence from the Turks. They will be reverted to further on.

3. *Albania.*

At this moment the European Cabinets are forced to hold some opinion or another regarding the claims and importance of a people of whom they probably know less than of the negroes of equatorial Africa. Yet these Gueghes, or Northern Albanians, whose strange distinctions and uncouth designations Western statesmen have hitherto been content to leave to the curiosity of the student, may any day precipitate the fall of what remains of the Ottoman Empire. Plenty of travellers and tourists, from Byron and Hobhouse to our day, have shown us glimpses of life in Southern Albania; few travellers have penetrated Upper Albania, the natural fortress of the Gueghes. Italians, it is true, have in modern times affected an exclusive interest in the Eastern Adriatic. But even the researches of the Venetian chronicler have been chiefly confined to the story of the twenty-five years' resistance of George Castriot, or Scanderbeg, to Amurath and Mahommed; while even the insurrection of Ali Pacha of Tebelen, which brought the Albanians of the south and centre before the notice of Europe, left Upper Albania quite untouched. The books that do touch at all on Guegharia—excepting only M. Hecquard's important work, speak of the country almost wholly from the professor's point of view; and while the ethnographer has been speculating as to whether or no Alexander conversed in the Albanian dialect with his Macedonian officers, the Porte alone seems to have been impressed with the political importance of a nation whom it has learned from a long history of rebellion that it could never tame. The very indistinctness with which the landmarks of Upper Albania are set shows that the political geographer has troubled himself little about it. Of its limits, none are clear but the Adriatic, which marks it at the west, and the river Scombi, which on the south divided the two great tribes of the Gueghes and the Toskes; and while it is not easy to describe the political and military divisions of the Scutari Pachalik, it

is harder still to arrive at any clear understanding of the situation and circumstances of the "mountain" or tribes into which Guegharia is subdivided.

The Albanians or Arnoots are the only *condottieri* left in Europe. They are, therefore, in somewhat bad repute in the East. Their swords are at the disposal of the most promising paymaster, and they serve indifferently in the ranks of the Khedive, the regular army of Greece, or the irregular levies of the Ottoman Sultan. To the Turkish conscription and to service in the Nizam, they have, as a rule, a rooted objection; and an attempt to enforce among them the new law of enlistment on the reorganization of the Ottoman army in 1843 created an insurrection which was only put down after considerable trouble and bloodshed by Omar Pacha. It has, consequently, been judged by the Sublime Porte to be more politic to humour them, and considerable districts of Albania are exempt from conscription at the present day. Klephts, by instinct as well as by the force of surrounding circumstances, and impatient of discipline or control, their predilection for plunder and unlicensed war leads them to become Bashi-Bazouks. They fought savagely for the Turks in all the wars against Servia, Montenegro, and Greece; and, on the other hand, in the Greek War of Independence distinguished themselves among the Palikars against the armies of Sultan Mahmoud. To appreciate their impartiality in the latter respect, it is necessary only to recall the origin of the Palikars. In the days of the Byzantine Empire, a species of militia, called *armatoli*, existed, whose chief duty it was to keep the roads clear of robbers. The Ottomans found it necessary to continue the same kind of police, and all Greece, from the river Axius to the Isthmus of Corinth, was gradually divided into seventeen *armatoliks*. South of the Isthmus, in the Morea, there was none. The rank of a commander of *armatoli* was hereditary. The members of each band were called *palikars*—heroes or brave fellows. In addition to the *armatoli* acknowledged by the Porte, all the mountain communities maintained a small body of palikars on their own account, professedly as a

rural police, but more generally for the waging of their own petty tribal feuds, in order to protect themselves against the Turks, or these very same Albanians, a great number of whom afterwards became their staunch allies. In civil life—as dragomans, body-servants, hotel hall-porters, kavasses, zaptiehs, and in other employments of more equivocal nature—the Arnoots perpetuated, according to nineteenth century modifications, the character given by Gibbon to their ancestors as a "vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers." Several nations claim kinship with these half-civilized people. Pouqueville says that the Kelts, starting from Italy, impressed their features on the race, but Lord Byron had occasion to remark that "Pouqueville is always out." Enthusiastic Scotchmen have seen in the "Wild Albanian, kirtled to his knee," but another McPherson in the "garb of old Gaul." The Sclavs are especially predisposed for political reasons to detect in the Albanians the descendants of the ancient Illyrians. The Armenians believe in some relationship, for no better reason than that Albania was a Roman name given to Armenia. The Albanians, in reality, present such an intermixture of Sclav, Greek, Wallach, Bulgar, Turk, and other blood, and their language is such a compound of various dialects, that it is quite impossible to recognize their true nationality. They call themselves Skipetars (men of the rocks), and are excessively proud of this word. They are subdivided into Gueghes, fiercest exactors of blood for blood; Miridites, belonging to the Romish Church; Liapes, Tzimis, and Toskes, the first to embrace Islamism. One of the ancient divisions of the country was Threspotia, whence, according to Pausanias, Homer took his nomenclature for the rivers and lakes of the Infernal Regions. To the north-east of Threspotia was situated the country of the Molossi, which rejoiced in the oracular oaks of Dodona with the prophetic pigeons. The general ancient name of the Albanians was Epirotes. Epirus has produced its share of celebrities—among them Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, himself a neighbouring Thessalian; Olympia, the mother of Alexander the Great;

George Castriot, better known as Scanderbeg; Mustapha Bairactar, the celebrated Pacha of Rustchuk, who placed Sultan Mahmoud on his throne, and perished in a subsequent revolt of the Janissaries in 1808. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Albania made part of the first kingdom of Bulgaria, the capital of which was Lychnidus, the modern Okida in Middle Albania. In 1081 it was invaded by Robert Guiscard, the Norman Count of Apulia. In 1204 Michael Angelus of the Comneni was Lord of Janina; and even during the Latin Empire at Constantinople the Byzantine Emperor of Nice governed Albania by deputy. The Turks first invaded the country in the reign of Murad I., but it was not till nearly a hundred years had elapsed that they obtained a permanent footing. Mahomet the Conqueror made desperate efforts to subjugate the mountaineers, but was kept at bay for twenty-four years by the great national hero, George Castriot, Lord of Croïa. After his death in 1467 the country submitted to the Ottoman yoke, and the inhabitants of the towns and valleys for the most part became Mahommedans. Next to Scanderbeg, the most formidable enemy to the Turkish power that Albania has produced was Ali, of the family of Hissus, of the Toskes tribe, who was born at Tebelen, some fifty miles to the north of Janina, in 1750. His mother, who was an Amazon, was a descendant of Scanderbeg. Ali's career was long and turbulent. From a soldier he rose to be Turkish governor of his native province, and aspired to independence, if not to the throne of Stamboul; but there was not room enough in Turkey for two such men as the "Old Lion of Janina" and Sultan Mahmoud the Reformer. After defying the Porte for more than thirty years, he was betrayed and slaughtered, along with several members of his family, in 1822. Their heads ornamented the gate of the Seraglio for a considerable period, and their tombs may now be seen outside the Silivri Gate of Stamboul.

Albania is the most mountainous, confused and difficult country of Turkey in Europe: the mountains there heap together, cross, and entangle in such a way that it is

impossible to follow their direction and attach them one to another; the valleys there are tortuous, broken up, traversed by torrents, and merge only into little plains; the amount of cultivation is small; all nature appears harsh and savage, and the inhabitants are of aspect and character conformable to that nature—handsome, tall, robust, fierce, and warlike.

The Albania of political geography is commonly represented on maps as extending from the frontier of Montenegro on the north to the boundary of Greece and the waters of the Gulf of Arta on the south; bounded on the east by the mountains of the Pindus range and the broken chain which, rising to the eastward of Lake Ochrida, runs in a northerly direction through the districts of Dibra, Prisrend, and Djakova, then curving to the northwest, terminates between Plava and Ipek; and limited on the west by the Adriatic and Ionian seas. But the population of this region is wanting in homogeneity. Like the Ottoman Empire in miniature, it is peopled by a mixture of races having neither political nor religious unity nor social cohesion.

Albania leans from the Tchar-Dagh as far as the Hellovo mountains upon the great chain of the Hellenic Alps, of which the principal portions have been already described: the Dibres, the Ochrida mountains, the Soa-Gora, Pindus, &c. It comprehends the imperfectly-defined basins of the *Bojana*, the *Drin*, the *Mati*, the Scombi, the Ergent, the Voïoussa, and the Arta, &c.

1. The *Bojana* descends, under the name of the *Moracca*, from Mount Dormitor, which belongs to the Bosnian Alps; it traverses Upper Montenegro in a deep valley, mountainous and inaccessible save by a narrow breach, between escarpments of 400 to 500 metres elevation; waters *Podgoritza*, a small town which serves as an advance-post to the Turks against Montenegro: then it traverses the lake of *Scutari*, and emerges therefrom near the town of that name, peopled by 20,000 inhabitants, tolerably industrious and one of the most important in the Empire. It is situated in a fine plain between the lake, the Bojana,

and the Drinassa, serves as a residence for the Pacha of Upper Albania, and is defended by the fortress of Rosapha, which passes for being the bulwark of Albania. The Bojana becomes navigable, runs through a very wide and very fine plain, the most fertile of Upper Albania, and terminates by a mouth difficult enough of approach. To the north of that river's mouth, on the coast of *Antivari* and *Dulcigno*, are small harbours, in which may be found very good mariners.

2. The *Drin* consists of two rivers of the same name, the one running directly north to south, the other running directly from south to north, and appearing to form only a single and even straight line. The White Drin, which is the least considerable, has its birth in the Bosnian Alps, runs parallel to that chain in an elevated plateau resembling that of Kassova, and which is only separated from it by indistinctly-marked heights; it thus waters the small towns of *Ipek*, *Jakova*, where the route from Bosnia into Albania passes, *Prisrend* (Justiniana prima), a town defended by a fortress, formerly celebrated and important by its position as the centre of several routes: the principal being that which leads from Scutari, by Uskioup, upon Constantinople. It next skirts the mass of the Tchar-Dagh and then joins itself to the Black Drin. The last-named river takes its source in the mountains to the east of lake *Ochrida* (Lychnides), traverses that lake, which is seven leagues long by four wide, and which is situated upon a high plateau formed by the Hellenic Alps and a parallel counter slope, called by the ancients the *Candavian* mountains. Upon that lake stands Ochrida, a town of from 5,000 to 6,000 inhabitants, the residence of the Bulgarian kings until the eighth century, situated at the foot of a conical mountain, and which is defended by a strong citadel, important by the route from Monastir into Albania. The Drin issues from the lake at *Strouga*, waters a fertile valley, the ancient Dardania, traverses two celebrated towns, the *Dibres*, inhabited by a very warlike Turkish people, and afterwards joins the White Drin.

The Drin then turns to the west in describing a large

arc of a circle, traverses a country celebrated during the middle ages, the *Dukagin*, inhabited by semi-barbarian and independent tribes; then it passes through a vast plain adjacent to the Bojana, and waters *Alessio* (Lissus), a small town of 3,000 inhabitants, defended by an old fort, and which enloses the tomb of Scanderbeg. It is then navigable for vessels of fifty tons, and terminates in several mouths.

3. The *Mati* (Matho) and the *Ischmi* (Ismos), unimportant torrents that descend from the Grabatz mountains, traverse the hilly country inhabited by the *Miridites*, an independent Catholic people, who appear to have descended from the companions of Scanderbeg; their chief place was formerly *Orocher;* at present it is *Croïa*, defended by an old fort. All this country, savage, unfertile, bristling with rocks and mountains, intersected by ravines and precipices as it is, has been very little visited, and is at the present time scarcely known. It was, however, made famous by the marches of Cæsar and Pompey, and we have found in this history that some of the French crusaders established themselves therein in the twelfth century, and that the traces of their domination still exist. Upon the coast stands *Durazzo* (Dyrrachium), a small town of from 5,000 to 6,000 inhabitants, no longer boasting of any commerce, but which was of great importance in the time of the Romans, from its vicinity to the coast of Italy. It was from thence the Egnatian way set forth, already mentioned, and by which all that mountainous chaos of central Greece was smoothed: it passed the Grabatz mountains, reached the plateau of Ochrida, descended upon Bitolia, and thence, by the Eregon valley, Edèssa, and Pella, arrived at Thessalonica.

All the littoral, from the mouth of the Drin, as far as that of the Aloüs, is low, marshy, unhealthy, and depopulated.

4. The *Ergent* (Apesus) descends from Mount Grammista, a portion of the Hellenic Alps; it traverses the mountainous gorges which intersect the country called *Tomoritza*, waters *Berat*, a town situate in a fine valley fertile in grain and pastures, upon a hill flanked by towers

and dominated by a citadel: it is the residence of the Pacha of Southern Albania. Below that town, the Ergent receives the *Devol*, which issues from lake *Drenovo*, in the Candavian mountains, traverses a hilly plateau the reverse sides of which are marked by the lakes Castoria and Ochrida, waters *Gorscha* or *Goritza*, a small town situate on the route from Berat to Castoria, and which carries on all the interior commerce of Albania.

5. The *Voïoussa* (Aoüs) takes its source in Mount Zygros near the defile of Mezzovo; it traverses the hilly canton of Zagori, peopled with forty villages inhabited by active, industrious men devoted to commerce, waters the small fort of *Konitza*, situate at the branching-off of the routes from Macedonia and Albania, and finds itself alternately skirted or cut by savage mountains; it passes on thus to *Premiti*, a town of 4,000 inhabitants defended by a fort, then to the small fortified town of *Klissoura*, situate at the confluence of the *Desnitza*, a torrent-like river which may be traced as far as the Grammos Chain and opens a route into Macedonia; it receives the *Dryno*, a torrent that runs through a very fertile valley and passes *Argyro-Castro*, a town hanging on the flank of a mountain and defended by an old castle; finally it reaches *Tebelen*, a small fortified town, the birth-place of Ali Pacha, the principal defence of the valley of Argyro-Castro, by which a traveller ascends to the plateau of Janina. The remainder of its course offers nothing remarkable; but there is not in all that mountainous province a rougher and wilder valley, more abounding in defensive positions, and more difficult for an army to traverse.

The southern belt of its lower basin is formed by the *Chimera* Mountains (montes Ceraunii), which are parallel to the littoral, and are terminated by the *Acroceraunian* Mountains, so celebrated in antiquity by the stormy sea-coasts over which they frown, and which are peopled at the present day by brigands and pirates. Upon the coast stands *Avlona*, an unhealthy town with a good harbour, which has for citadel, at half a league thence, the fortress of *Canina*.

6. The *Pavla* descends from the Chimera Mountains, skirts their range in a fertile through broken-up valley, receives an affluent which passes by *Delvino*, a small town built on a knoll, crowned by a fort, traverses lake *Peloïs* and terminates near *Butrinto*, an ancient Venetian fortress situate upon a low and marshy sea-shore, important by its position facing Corfu, taken by the French in 1797 and by the Russians in 1799.

7. The *Calamas* (Thyamis) issues from a lake, traverses a narrow and fertile valley, everywhere covered with olive and mulberry trees, vines and cornfields; it passes by *Philates* a township inhabited by a laborious and warlike people, and falls into the Corfu channel. It receives the *Terino*, which has near its sources the ruins of *Paleo-Castro*, the remains of ancient *Passaron*, residence of the Æacides kings, who traced their origin up to Pyrrhus. It is believed that this river and its affluents are the overflow of the waters of the Janina plateau, arriving there through abysses and subterranean canals.

The plateau of Janina, which constituted the ancient *Hellopia*, entirely surrounded by mountains, and having an elevation of from 400 to 500 metres above the sea-level, is occupied by a lake of some four to five leagues long by one or two wide, the aspect of which is generally gloomy, whilst its banks are smiling and fertile. Upon these shores, in an enchanting site, at the extremity of a magnificent plain set in a framework of the grandest mountain range, supported on one side by a narrow peninsula defended by two small forts, and on the other by hills crowned by a fortress flanked with towers, stands *Janina*, a town of 25,000 inhabitants, almost all Greeks engaged in commerce and who were formerly reputed the most enlightened of the whole peninsula. It was the centre of the domination of Ali Pacha, who was there subjected, in 1822, to a siege during which he was assassinated and the town half-ruined. It had then schools, libraries, and factories that no longer exist.—The plateau of Janina is the dominant portion of Epirus and the centre of the entire Hellenic peninsula: it is the point of convergence of

the routes from Thessaly, from Albania and from the littoral; it is a military position in fact from which roads radiate in every direction, and which it is indispensable to occupy in order to be master of Albania.

8. The *Mavro-Potamos* (Acheron) traverses the deep gorges which constitute the canton of Souli, now depopulated, but formerly inhabited by a warlike race, as celebrated for its courage as for its misfortunes.* That colony, numbering from 12,000 to 13,000 individuals, occupied eleven villages, some perched upon inaccessible mountains, others at the base of those mountains, and all better defended by their site than by the towers that sheltered them. The Souliotes sustained a siege from 1788 to 1803 against all the forces of Ali Pacha, and there perished to the last man. In quitting the mountains of Souli, the Mavro traverses the lake of *Tchouknida* (Acherontia) and hurries on to throw itself into the Ionian sea at the little Port of *Glykis*. It receives several torrents, one of which, the ancient *Cocytus*, passes at the foot of *Paramythia*, a town of from 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, defended by an old castle perched upon the side of a mountain. Upon the coast stands *Parga*, a small town defended by a strong castle, built upon a rock surrounded by water, facing the Isle of Paxos, in a fertile territory, with a good port. It was formerly a small Christian republic protected by the Venetians; besieged, in 1814, by Ali Pacha, it placed itself under the protection of the English, who ceded it to that tyrant of Epirus; but all the inhabitants abandoned the town.

9. The *Arta* (Arethon) descends from Mount Zygros, or the plateau of Mezzovo, the central knot of the mountains of the Peninsula, and whence flow streams in all directions, an affluent of the Indjé-Karason, the Salembria, the Acheloüs, the Arta, the Voïoussa, &c. It passes near *Mezzoro*, a small town of 3,000 inhabitants, very important

* "On Souli's rock and Parga's shore,
Exists the remnant of a line
Such as the Doric mothers bore;
And there, perhaps, some seed is sown,
The Heracleidan blood might own."—Lord Byron.

by its position between Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly and Acarnania. It is the knot of the routes between those four provinces, and the most important of which is that of Janina from Tricala, a difficult but much-frequented route. The inhabitants of these mountains are *Vlaques*, active, industrious, hospitable shepherds or merchants. The Arta flows through a narrow, deep, rocky valley, between the Pindus chain and the Janina mountains, skirted by the Arta route from Mezzovo, which often follows the dry bed of the river. Immediately on quitting the mountains it reaches the fertile plain dotted with villages, whereon stands *Arta* (Ambracia), a town of from 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, surrounded by a wall and defended by a strong citadel, the *entrepôt* of the commerce of Epirus. At four leagues thence the Arta throws itself into the Gulf of Ambracia or Arta.

This gulf, the entrance of which is not more than 1,000 metres wide, forms a basin of from four to five leagues in width by ten to twelve in length; its northern coast is low and swampy, its eastern inclines gently towards Mount Callidromus, and on its southern, jagged and scooped-out coast stands the promontory of *Actium*, where the naval battle between Octavius and Antony was fought, the fortress of *Vonitza* and the port of *Loutraki*. At the northern entrance to this gulf stands *Prevesa*, a town of from 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, defended by two forts, and which formerly belonged to the Venetians; taken by the French in 1798, and by Ali Pacha in 1799. Upon the isthmus once stood *Nicopolis*, built by Augustus in remembrance of the victory of Actium, and the acropolis of which still exists in ruins; near them, in 1798, 400 Frenchmen sustained an heroic struggle against 11,000 Turks.

Albania, which comprehends a portion of ancient Illyria and all ancient Epirus, contains a population of 1,600,000 inhabitants, of which 200,000 are Roman Catholics, 500,000 Greeks, and 900,000 Mussulmans. The Gueghes are mingled with the neighbouring Slavs of Bosnia and Servia, and yet have adopted almost nothing of their manners or

language. The Toskes are mingled with the Greeks much more intimately, speak their language, and have with them numerous affinities. The Gueghes are thickset and muscular, the Toskes slender and agile, both strong, vigorous, and perhaps the finest race in Europe. The characteristics common to both peoples are love of independence, love of war, a revengeful spirit, merging into ferocity. They are wild, plundering, indefatigable soldiers, selling

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their services and their blood to those who pay them highest; but lively, gay, adventurous, sober, generous and heroic so soon as it concerns the defence of their country, their tribe, or their family. They are an iron race, as hard as the rocks they inhabit. They proved the most intrepid soldiers in the armies of Pyrrhus, of Alexander, Diocletian, Scanderbeg, and lastly of the Sultans of Byzantium. They have been in the pay of the Italian States,

chiefly of Venice, and, under the name of Stradiotes, have rendered themselves famous alike by their valour and cruelty.

The Albanian Catholics are the inhabitants of the Mirdita and the Dukagin: they are almost entirely independent, and pay no tribute, suffer no Ottoman upon their territory, and allow themselves to serve in the Turkish armies only for the pay; Catholicism has not softened their manners or their ferocity. The Albanian Greeks are found chiefly in Epirus, and share the ideas and passions of the Greeks. The Albanian Mussulmans occupy the central portion of the country; these are very slightly zealous followers of the Korân, and have only adopted Mahometanism to escape from Turkish oppression and to preserve their liberty. The Albanian Greeks and Mussulmans are better subjected than the Catholics to the Ottoman domination; but, in reality, they govern themselves and are divided into tribes, which enjoy great independence.

Albania, consisting entirely of mountains, defiles, gorges, and precipices, where wide plains are only found in the lower basin of the Drin, is a country very difficult to conquer, very favourable to a war of stratagem, and almost entirely isolated from the Ottoman empire. It is generally unfertile and badly cultivated, producing only olives, fruit, a little corn, a little wine, abundant pasturage, and very few horses. Of commerce there is almost none.

CHAPTER IV.

GREECE AND THE ISLES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

1. *Lemnos*, an isle remarkable by its four good harbours and its position in the upper Archipelago, at the entrance to the Hellespont. Its population is wholly Greek; but it belongs to the Ottoman empire.

2. *Imbros*, *Samothrace* and *Thasos* form a continuous chain fronting the shore of Thrace; they are beautiful, fertile and enjoy great privileges. Their population is Greek; but they belong to the Ottoman empire.

3. The *Sporades*, a group of isles to the north of Negropont, among which is *Skyra*, inhabited in all times by pirates. It belongs to the kingdom of Greece.

4. *Negropont* (Eubœa), a long island parallel to the coast of Livadia, from which it is separated only by a narrow channel, over which a bridge has been thrown sixty-five metres long. At the extremity of this bridge is *Negropont* (Chalcis), a strong town, one of the maritime keys of Greece, with a good port. There stands also *Karistos*, defended by a fortress. It belongs to Greece.

5. *Poros* (Spharia), *Ægina* and *Salamis*, in the Gulf of Athens. The first has a good harbour with two entrances, which contains an arsenal and dockyards for ship-building. The second was, in the war of 1820 as in the time of the Persians, the refuge of the Greeks of the Continent. The third is celebrated by the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, 480 B.C. It belongs to Greece.

6. *Hydra* and *Spezzia*, small isles near the Argolide. These sterile rocks exhibited much commercial activity from 1792 to 1815, and their inhabitants were the most intrepid mariners of the Archipelago; they were the

bulwark of the Greek insurrection, and their small vessels several times destroyed the Turkish fleets. Ruined during the war, they have never recovered their former prosperity. They belong to Greece.

7. The *Cyclades*, a group of twenty-five very fertile isles belonging to Greece, and of which the principal are: 1. *Naxos*, the largest, with a town defended by a fort; 2. *Paros*, which possesses good harbours; 3. *Melos*, with a good port; 4. *Syros* or *Syra*, the first commercial place in the kingdom of Greece; 5. *Tinos*, inhabited by an industrious population; 6. *Andros* inhabited by excellent sailors.

8. *Candia* (Crete) is a large island 140 kilometres long and 60 broad, traversed from west to east by a chain of mountains, the culminating point of which, the *Psiloriti* (Ida) has a circuit of 100 kilometres, and an elevation of 2,339 metres. This island, so important by its situation, which commands the three great portions of the Mediterranean, and principally the Archipelago, is very fertile, and possesses good harbours. On the coast stands *Canea* (Cydonia), a commercial town with a good port and dockyards for ship-building; *Suda* and *Garabusa*, important islets by their harbours and fortifications; *Candia*, a decayed town with a choked-up harbour; *Spina-Longa*, a fortress and port. Candia contains 200,000 inhabitants, of which one-half are Mussulmans, the other Greek Christians. It has belonged to the Ottoman Empire since 1669.

CHAPTER V.

Turkey in Asia.

The Caucasus. Armenia and the Euphrates.

Turkey in Asia is, in some respects, the most interesting country in the world. Judaism and Christianity had their rise in it, and the entire topography of the Bible, from Eden and Ararat, from Chaldea and Midian, to the Seven Churches of Asia, and the little island which was the scene of the Apocalyptic visions, is comprised within the limits of the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey in Asia may be divided into the plateau of *Armenia*, the peninsula of *Asia Minor*, the basins of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*.

The plateau of Armenia being connected with the mountainous system of the Caucasus, and the neighbouring countries of that chain having for a long time belonged to the Ottoman Empire, it may be useful at first to give a brief description of the Caucasus, without any reference to the political delimitation existing between the Russian Empire and Turkey.

1. *The Caucasus.*

The chain of the *Caucasus*, which is considered to serve as a delimitation between Europe and Asia, commences in the vicinity of the Strait of Yenikale, and is prolonged in a general direction from north-west to south-east as far as Cape Apcheron. It is composed at first of heights scarcely reaching sixty metres, then it rises by degrees in skirting the eastern coast of the Black Sea, which it covers with short and massive counter-slopes. It thus attains successively an elevation of from 500 to 3,000 metres, and presents everywhere nothing but bare ridges and savage

peaks overtopping the sides covered with forests. Then, towards the sources of the Kador, formerly the limit of the Colchide, it diverges from the coast by describing the salient arc of a circle towards the north, and which contains the culminating points of the whole chain: it forms then an enormous wall composed of peaks piled one above another, covered with eternal snow, having between these summits only deep crevasses, allowing of no passage between either slope. There rises Mount *Elbrouz* to an elevation of 17,000 feet. The extremity of the salient is marked by Mount *Zikar*, a knot of very remarkable mountains, the source of the Phasis, which will be spoken of elsewhere. Starting from the last-mentioned mountain, the chain runs more directly eastwards and attains in Mount *Kasbek* the height of 4,420 metres; then, beyond the defile of Dariel, it decreases by degrees down to 2,000 metres, throws out to the north-east counter-slopes, very long, massive and higher than the chain itself, the most considerable of which terminates at Derbent; finally, it descends from 1,000 to 400 metres, but without losing its asperity and its difficulties of passage, and ends near Bakou by Cape Apcheron. Its development between Anapa and Bakou is more than 1,200 kilometres; its thickness varies from 150 to 300 kilometres. Its crest is generally very much indented and often with an uniformity that gives it the appearance of a crenellated wall. It contains great mineral riches, but the working of which is wholly neglected.

The course of the streams which descend thence, instead of taking their source near the crest, descend from secondary counter-slopes, and, in consequence, do not open roads between the two water-sheds; thus the Caucasus can only be traversed by turning it by its two extremities, and there is only a single pass across the centre of the chain. Of the two routes from the littoral, the first, which now belongs to Russia, skirts the Black Sea, passes by Anapa, Soudjouk-Khalé and Mamaï, intersects successively all the western counter-slopes of the chain, crosses the formidable defile of Gagra, passes by Anaklia, Redoubt-

Kaleh, Poti, Chefketil, and reaches the Turkish frontier at Batoum. It is by that route that the Russians advanced to the conquest of the Caucasus, and especially upon the Ottoman side. The second skirts the Caspian Sea, passes by Kislar, Tarki, and Derbent; there it traverses, in the counter-slope which terminates near that town, the defile anciently called *Portes Albaniennes* (the Albanian Gates); then it passes on to Kouba, to Bakou, and forwards till it reaches the Persian frontier. It is by that route that the Russians have approached the Persian slope of the Caucasus.

The route from the centre of the chain sets out from Gregoriev at the sources of the Kouma, passes on to Ekhaterinograd, to Wladikankas, and to Dariel. These are three towns fortified by the Russians, and destined to defend the passage. From thence, near Mount Kasbek, it crosses the crest by a *col* which has an elevation of nearly 4,000 metres, a passage scooped out between two walls, flanked by precipices, and defended by small forts; then it descends by the valley of the Aragvi upon Tiflis. This very important route, which has been recently constructed by the Russians, is the only portion of the crest of the Caucasus that they possess, the only one which connects their provinces of both slopes; it is impracticable in winter on account of the avalanches, and is partly in the keeping of the *Ossetes* tribes, who inhabit those mountains and who can close it.

The entire country comprised by the Caucasus and its ramifications is one of the most interesting regions on the face of the globe; all climates, as almost all soils, there meet together. First, perpetual snow is to be found there as far as the lower limit of 3,300 metres; then, upon the northern slope, where the climate is generally damp and insalubrious, to the snows and sterile rocks succeed rich pastures crowned with magnificent forests; next lower hills fertile in corn, and, beyond these, sandy plains on which only a few saline plants germinate. Upon the southern slope the climate, on the contrary, is most salubrious, and nature there displays, in the plains and mag-

nificent valleys all the exuberance of Asiatic vegetation. The forests there are much more rare than upon the northern slopes, except on the coast of Abasia, where leafy trees abound. On the other hand, the vine flourishes there naturally, and covers all the little hills; in the upper valleys all the odoriferous flowers are found; in the sheltered valleys, the almond, the peach, the olive, the fig, and the pomegranate descend in stages down to the sea, and laurel groves are met with on the shores of the Caspian and of the Black Sea.

In the eastern portion of the Caucasus the aspect of the two water-sheds changes; the country comprised between that chain and the Terek is one of the most fertile in existence; the cereals, the tinctorial plants, the vine, the mulberry tree, the cotton shrub abound in the valleys of Daghestan and at the foot of their sides, whilst above rise dense forests. To the south of the Caucasus, on the contrary, vegetation disappears, and beyond the plain of Chamaki, which is yet fertile as far as the mouth of the Kour, it gives place to a bare and arid desert, formed of stones and sand, where only heaths and marshes are met with, and which, upon the other shore of the Kour, is continued by the moors of Mogan, a vast plain intersected with verdant hills, heaths, stagnant pools, and muddy ditches.

The northern slope belongs entirely to the Russians, if not effectively, at least nominally; all the upper portion of that slope is, in fact, inhabited by independent tribes that have sometimes paid tribute to the Ottomans, and held with them certain commercial relations, but who have been waging, for half a century, a desperate war against Russian domination. The chief of these tribes are those of the *Tcherkesses* or *Circassians*.

The Circassians occupy the western and northern flanks of the Caucasus as far as the Kouban; but they are principally agglomerated in the fertile valleys of the mountains that separate the waters of the Kouban from those of the Kouma and the Terek. It is from thence that across the country of the southern shore of the Kouban they start

upon their excursions, which they extend as far as the shores of the Black Sea. The almost impenetrable country which they occupy is known commonly under the name of *Kabardie;* it is distinguished as *Great Kabardie*, in the basin of the Kouban, and *Little Kabardie*, or valley of the Middle Terek. The Circassians are distinguished among all the other Caucasian peoples by their beauty, their

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lofty stature, their strength and courage. The young girls are disposed of, not unfrequently by their own parents, to supply the harems of the wealthy Turks, as the Lesghiens, not less beautiful, are for those of Persia. These people have a political organization resembling the old feudal system; each village obeys a chief, the *uzdem*, and the whole tribe is under the orders of a *bey* or prince; the nation is thus composed of princes (beys), of nobles

(usdem), and of peasants or serfs, who are charged with the care of the cattle and the cultivation of the ground. These fierce mountaineers have for a long time sustained a sanguinary contest with the Russians. Most, however, now acknowledge the supremacy of Russia, but are still governed by their native princes; yet so great is the hatred of the brave Circassians for their oppressors, that hundreds of thousands of them, men, women, and children, have deserted their native country and settled in Turkey. A petition was tendered to the Conference of Constantinople in 1876-77 by the Circassians on the west of the Caucasus, complaining of their treatment at the hands of the Russians, of the injustice, tyranny, confiscation, transportation, exile to Siberia, massacre, and extermination, by which they are victimised.*

Of a part of this region, Mingrelia, Sir H. Rawlinson says: "It is a paradise of beauty; neither a plain woman nor a plain man are ever to be seen in it."

2. *Basins of the Phasis, the Kour, and the Araxes.*

The southern slope of the Caucasus is composed of a succession of terraces or plateaux which descend in stages towards the south, and which are connected by diverse chains of mountains. The principal counter-slope of this water-shed is that which forms the separation of the streams between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and which connects all the mountains of Western Asia with the Caucasus. It sets out from Mount Zikar, at the sources of the Phasis, separates that river from the Kour in the *Dvaletti* (the ancient Amarynthus) mountains, and approaches the coast towards the mouth of the Tcharokh under the name of the *Akhaltsik* mountains; it forms the eastern belt of that water-course, and, to the north of Erzeroum, unites itself with the western plateau of Ararat by Mount *Abos*. It throws out numerous scarps: the principal is the *Alleghez* chain, which descends

* "Russian Despotism," by Sir Patrick Colquhoun.

to the south-east between the Kour and the Araxes, and forms the boundary between Georgia and Armenia.

The country comprised between these mountains, the Caucasus and the coast, or the south-west portion of the southern slope of the Caucasus, is very mountainous, almost entirely wild, and traversed by very small water-courses; the principal is the *Rion* or *Phasis*, which waters *Kuthais*, a fortified town, capital of the Russian province of Imeritia, and which terminates at Poti. There is also the *Chefketil*, a stream that serves as a boundary between Turkey and Russia, and which passes by fort *Saint Nicholas*, the first place seized upon by the Turks in the war of 1854. Finally, must be mentioned the torrent-like and deeply embanked *Tcharokh*, or *Batis*, which descends from the plateau of Erzeroum, traverses a portion of Turkish Armenia, and terminates near *Batoum*, a poor harbour situate upon an unhealthy coast. This country comprehends *Abkasia*, inhabited by independent tribes, the small Russian provinces of *Imeritia* and *Mingrelia*, finally a portion of Turkish Armenia.

The south-eastern portion of the southern water-shed of the Caucasus is occupied by the great basin of the *Cyrus* or the *Kour*.

This basin is circumscribed on the north by the chain of the Caucasus; to the west by the Dvaletti and the Akhaltsik mountains; to the south by the *Ararat* chain. That chain, so famous in antiquity, that the traditions of the peoples of the East regarded it as the cradle of the human race, occupies very nearly the centre of the ancient world. It is composed alternately of plateaux and snowy peaks, the direction of which is very confused, and which is separated by the basins of the Upper Euphrates and Lake Van from the basin of the Kour; its culminating portion, Mount *Ararat*, has an elevation of 17,000 feet, whereon, it is said, Noah's ark rested, and in a counter-slope in the vicinity of the Araxes, between Erivan and Bayazid.

The basin of the Kour is composed of two distinct parts, the upper and the lower. The upper portion forms two

great plateaux, that of Georgia or of the Kour, that of Armenia or of the Araxes, separated by the Alleghez mountains, both having an average height of from 1,500 to 1,800 metres, surrounded bv the snows of the towering uplands of Armenia, hollowed into very fertile valleys, and forming altogether one of the most remarkable countries in the world. The lower portion is also composed of heaths, steppes and deserts.

The Kour takes its rise in Mount Saganlugh, which belongs to the plateau of Erzeroum; its torrent-like but shallow waters roll at first over rocks in a fertile plain enclosed in a frame-work of lofty mountains. It thus waters *Ardaghan*, a small Turkish town, then it enters upon Russian territory, and receives on the right a stream which passes by *Akhalkalaki*, a fortress commanding the entrance from Georgia; then it receives on the left another stream which passes by Akhaltsik, a stronghold that has the same object as the preceding, and which is memorable for two battles lost by the Turks. These two fortresses have belonged to the Russians since 1829, and keep the Armenian plateau open to their invasions. Thence it traverses a deep defile in which it makes numerous falls, takes a south-easterly direction, waters *Gori*, a small town defended by a fort upon the route from Tiflis to Koutaïs, then it passes by *Tiflis*, the capital of Georgia, and issues from the defile of Dariel, a town of 20,000, defended by a fortress. Below that town it no longer passes any remarkable place, reaches it lowest level, crosses some half-desert steppes, and falls into the Gulf of Salian.

It receives on the left: 1. The *Aragvi*, which has its source in the defile of Dariel and opens the route from Dariel to Tiflis: it is defended by several forts. 2. The *Alazan*, which passes near the forts of *Telavi* and *Signakh*.

It receives on the right the Araxes, the basin of which is formed on the north by the chain of the Alleghez, on the south by the Ararat chain. It descends from the Binghel mountains in the plateau of Erzeroum, passes by Hassan Khalé, a small fortress on the route from Erzeroum to Kars, traverses the most beautiful part of Armenia,

which belongs to Russia, then serves as a boundary for the two empires in describing a large arc of a circle to the south-west, passes near *Nakchivan*, traverses some great steppes and unites itself with the Kour. It receives: 1. The Arpatchaï, which passes by *Goumri*, a Russian fortress opposite Kars, and which closes the principal outlet from Georgia. *Kars* is situated upon an affluent of this river, the basin of which is entirely mountainous; it is, or rather was (1878), a very important Turkish city by its position and its citadel and which was taken by the Russians in 1855. 2. The *Abar*, which passes by Echmiadzin, a fortified monastery, the residence of the Universal Patriarch of the Armenians. 3. The *Zanga*, which flows by *Erivan*, the capital of Russian Armenia, a very important town by its position and its fortifications. 4. The *Makatchai*, which passes by *Bayazid*, a small fortified town upon the last slopes of Ararat, which defends the plateau of Van and the source of the Euphrates; it has belonged to the Russians since 1878.

The basin of the Kour comprehends the now Russian provinces of Georgia, of Schirvan and a portion of Armenia. At the present time Turkey possesses only a few leagues of territory on the Kour and the very farthest part of the upper basin of the Araxes. Whatever the smallness of these possessions may be, they can arrest the conquering march of the Russians, who will have no solid frontier until they possess the plateau of Erzeroum and the Ararat chain: these are the natural slopes by which the invaders may march, whether into Asia Minor, into Syria, or into Mesopotamia. Kars was, till the war of 1877-78, the centre of the Turkish possessions in the basin of the Kour.

The tradition which makes those countries the point of departure of the first families of the human race, their geographical position in the most elevated portions of Western Asia, between two seas, at 250 leagues from Constantinople, from Jerusalem and from the Persian Gulf; history, which testifies that no one has been the assured master of Asia without occupying the Armenian plateau—

all that demonstrates that the possession of these provinces by the Russians is the most striking manifestation of their gigantic projects of conquest; by that, Turkey in Asia is taken in reverse, Persia annulled, India watched and menaced. It is this which explains why they show so much persistence and active enmity in the subjugation of the remaining independent tribes of both slopes of the Caucasus, and whose resistance alone arrests their march towards the South of Asia.

3. *Mountains of Western Asia.*

From the Ararat Mountains or the Armenian plateau may be deduced all the mountain chains of Western Asia or of Turkey in Asia.

From the plateau of Erzeroum a vast chain is detached between the just born Euphrates, on one side, and the Batis and the Lycus on the other. It is sub-divided into several branches, parallel between them and the Coast of the Black Sea, which are thus prolonged as far as the Sea of Marmora, and constitute of the northern portion of Asia Minor a series of staged terraces which the water-courses traverse by deep breaches, and which, rising successively, become effaced in a vast central plateau. This accumulation of mountains was called by the ancients the *Anti-Taurus*. The most westerly portion is marked by the *Toumanidsch* (Tomnus) Mountains, of which Mount *Olympus* forms a part (1,500 metrès), and dominates by its imposing mass the fine plain of Broussa: it was one of the first encampments of the Ottoman Turks. The most important counter-slope of the Toumanidsch Mountains is the *Ermeni-Dagh*, which spreads between the Batis and the Melas, an affluent of the Sangarius, and which was formerly defended by the Fortress of *Ainœgel*, celebrated in the early times of Ottoman history.

From the same mass of Ararat, but in its eastern portion and near Bayazid, sets out a chain parallel to the Anti Taurus, which encircles on the north the Lake of Van,

separates the Southern Euphrates from the Tigris in the Niphates Mountains, intersects the Euphrates between Malatia and Samosata, takes the name of *Taurus*, and is prolonged until it skirts the Mediterranean, in forming, like the Anti-Taurus, successive stages which become effaced also in the central plateau; but these stages are less wide, more abrupt, higher and more tortuous. The Taurus, on approaching the Archipelago, is sub-divided into numerous counter-slopes which terminate in the capes of that coast; the most northern culminates in Mount *Tmolus*, to the north of Cayster, near the ruins of Sardis. The junction between the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus is effected in that part of Asia Minor by the *Dindymene* Mountains, which are connected with Olympus. Another junction of the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus is effected by a chain of hills which runs to the east from Sivas and Cæsarea, encircling the sources of the Melas, and in thus isolating the basin of the Euphrates from Asia Minor.

From the same plateau of Bayazid sets out the chain of the *Medicus* Mountains, which runs between the Lakes Van and Ourmiah, and separates the basin of the Tigris from the tableland of Persia.

Finally, from Mount Taurus, near the sources of the Pyramus, a counter-slope is detached which effects a junction near the sea with Mount *Amanus* (Alma-Dagh), which itself joins the Libanus. It will be referred to in describing Syria.

The above chains form but one mountain system, of which the Mountains of Armenia may be considered the central mass.

4. *Basins of the Euphrates and the Tigris.*

The basin of the Euphrates is separated into two distinct portions: the upper portion or Armenia, which forms a vast plateau comprised between the two Taurus ranges, and terminating at the defile of Malatia; the

lower portion, or Mesopotamia, which is only a vast plain.

The *Euphrates* is formed by two parallel rivers. The most northerly descends from Mount Abos in the plateau of Erzeroum; it passes near *Erzeroum*,* the capital of Turkish Armenia, peopled by 50,000 inhabitants, a third of whom are Christians. It is well fortified, and stands in an open plain at an elevation of 1,600 metres, and experiences a very rigorous climate. It has long been the bulwark of the Ottoman Empire against Russia, the centre of the routes from the Caucasus into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, the military and dominant position of all Western Asia. Below this city the Euphrates traverses several defiles, passes by *Erz-Inghian*, the first encampment of the Ottomans in the fourteenth century, and meets its other stream at Kabban.

The Southern Euphrates or the *Mourad-Chaï* has its source in Mount Ararat, near Bayazid, traverses a very lofty plateau which skirts Lake Van, passes by Melezghird, intersects or encircles several counter-slopes of the Niphates Mountains and unites with the other Euphrates.

The Euphrates, becomes a single water-course, passes near *Malatia*, receives the *Melas*, the basin of which forms the ancient Cappadocia, and emerges from its lofty plateau by a long and deep defile which intersects entirely the mass of the Taurus. It runs circuitously across the southern counter-slopes of that chain, waters *Samosata*, formerly a considerable town, and *Bir*, a place of passage on the route from Edessa. Disengaged then from the mountains, it wanders across immense plains, being separated from Syria only by deserts; it waters thus the ruins of *Hieropolis*, *Racca*, the ruins of *Tapsaque*, *Feloudjé*, where it becomes easily navigable, and below which a canal opens that joins the Euphrates to the Tigris, *Hella*, a commercial town upon the site of Babylon, which once had, according to Strabo, a circumference of 16 leagues. It runs on to unite itself with the Tigris at *Kornah*, takes then the name of *Chat-el-Arab*, waters *Bassorah*, a commercial town, to which

* *Erzeroum* signifies, in Armenian, "citadel of the Romans."

vessels ascend with the tide, and terminates at 15 leagues from that town by two principal mouths.

The Euphrates on the right receives only streams of minor importance; but on the left it receives: 1. The *Beles*, or *Billicha*, which waters *Harran*, the ancient *Charran*, the country of Abraham, where Crassus was defeated by the Parthians; it has in its basin *Offa*, the ancient Edessa, a town of 25,000 inhabitants, important by its walls and its position at the entrance of Mesopotamia, upon the route from Aleppo to Mosul; it was the capital of a powerful State at the period of the Crusades. 2. the *Khaboras*, which has in its basin Merdin, a town defended by a citadel and situated in the interior of the Masius mountains; *Nisibis*, now decayed, and which was formerly the most important place in Mesopotamia; *Singan*, the principal abode of the Yezides hordes. 3. The *Tigris* (Didjlet, the arrow) descends from the Taurus by several sources; it traverses a very lofty plateau, surrounded on one side by the Taurus mountains and on the other side by the Masius mountains, a counter-slope parallel to the Taurus; it waters in that plateau *Diarbekir* (Amida), a large town of 40,000 inhabitants, situated upon a mountain, and which appears alike strong and flourishing. Below *Djezireh*, and after having received the *Khabour*, which passes by *Sert* (Tigranocerta), it leaves the Masius mountains, by a series of falls and gorges, waters the ruins of *Nineveh*, then the town of *Mosul*, peopled by 40,000 inhabitants, and which carries on a large commerce, because it is upon the route of the caravans to India. Thence, it traverses immense plains, sometimes very fertile, at others sandy deserts, which are overrun by the *Yezides*, tribes of robber-shepherds, fire-worshippers and descendants from the Assyrians. The country comprised between the river and the Medicus mountains is called *Kurdistan*, a name under which is also comprehended the plateau of Lake Van as far as Bayazid. From thence the Tigris reaches *Bagdad*, which stands like an oasis in the midst of deserts. Founded in 762 by the Khalife Almanzor *the Victorious*, it became the capital of the Mussulman

Empire, and acquired the greatest splendour. It is at the present time sadly decayed, but still contains 100,000 inhabitants, of which 50,000 are Arabs, 40,000 Turks, and 10,000 Christians. It is defended by a strong wall and a small citadel, and presents, moreover, the dirty and miserable aspect of all the Turkish towns. From thence, the Tigris, which several canals unite with the Euphrates, waters the ruins of *Seleucia* and of *Ctesiphon*, again traverses vast desert plains and joins itself to the Euphrates at Kornah. The fine country through which the Euphrates and Tigris run parallel and bordering each other has been the central land of the Assyrians, Syrians, Parthians, and Arabs: Babylon, Seleucia, Bagdad, situated in some sort in the middle of the ancient continent upon two navigable rivers, became, whether by sea or land, the emporium of the commerce of India with western Asia, and that was the cause of their power.

The provinces of the Ottoman Empire comprised in the basin of the Euphrates are: in the Upper region, Armenia and Kurdistan; in the Middle region, the Al-Djezireh or Mesopotamia; in the Lower region, the Irak-Arabi or Babylonia. There are no lands richer in records: there wandered the flocks of Abraham and Jacob; there arose the first towns and the earliest empires known; it was in these plains that Alexander overthrew the power of the Persians; it is there that the Romans of Trajan and of Julian contended with the Parthians; it is there that the Mussulmans, Shiites, and Sonnites disputed for the Empire. There are found every contrast, all temperatures, all climates, from the mountains of Armenia, clothed with perpetual snow, covering with their lofty peaks the space between the two seas, and where the most rigorous cold is experienced, as far as the plains without undulation of Mesopotamia, green with far-stretching pastures, to the forests of palms and lemon-trees of Irak-Arabi.

Armenia occupies, besides the Upper basin of the Araxes, the Upper basin of the Euphrates or Upper Armenia, both separated by the Niphates mountains. The first is fertile, especially in pastures; the second in

grains and fruits. Armenia, which for two thousand years and down to the fourteenth century, had formed an independent State, one of the most important in all antiquity, is still inhabited by peoples whose origin is lost in the night of time; but the invasions of the later centuries have forced the greater part to expatriate themselves. The Armenian emigrants are scattered throughout all Western Asia, Russia, Persia, and Hungary; they are essentially traders, render themselves remarkable by their intelligence and their aptitude in all kinds of industrial pursuits, but also by their deceitful spirit and their cupidity. It is computed that they are disseminated in the Ottoman Empire to the number of 1,900,000, of which 400,000 are in Europe, and principally at Constantinople. The Armenians form an important sect of Christianity: they are *Eutychians*,* and recognize as their head the patriarch resident at Echmiadzin. Turks, Kurds, &c., are also found in Armenia. Armenia has a superficial extent of about 8,000 square leagues, with a population of 2,000,000 inhabitants.

Mesopotamia is separated into four parallel zones: the first is mountainous, and extends over the southern reverse of the Taurus as far as Djezireh; the second zone is slighly undulated, and extends from the foot of the mountains as far as Mount Khabour; the ancients divided it into Osrhoëne on the west, and Mygdonia on the east; the third zone extended as far as Bagdad; it is a vast cultivated plain, especially upon the banks of the two rivers, and which is very thinly peopled; the fourth zone extends as far as the confluence of the two rivers: it is the ancient Chaldea, formerly very fertile, covered with corn-fields and orchards, now cultivated only upon the banks of the rivers.

Kurdistan, which forms the eastern portion of the Tigris' basin, is inhabited by semi-sedentary, semi-nomad tribes, who wander with their flocks during summer, and take

* The doctrine of Eutychus acknowledges only one sole *nature* in Jesus Christ. The Armenians reject, moreover, the supremacy of the Papal chair, purgatory, indulgences, &c.

refuge in the villages during winter. They are governed by themselves or by beys whom the Sultan accepts, but who are really independent, and often at war with the Turkish Pachas. It is thought that the Kurds are descendants of the ancient Medes; they are the best horsemen of Asia; they still fight in the Parthian manner.

The superficial extent of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan is about 16,000 square leagues, with a population of two millions and a half of inhabitants.

CHAPTER VI.

Turkey in Asia. Asia Minor or Anatolia.

The peninsula of Asia Minor represents a vast plateau, of which the slopes formed by the Taurus and Anti-Taurus fall successively by stages down to the three seas. This plateau, which is about 350 kilometres long, between Kutaieh on the west and Kaisarieh on the east, and 220 kilometres broad, between Angora on the north, and Konieh on the south, is an abridgment of the great plateaux of Central Asia; the mountains there form deep and narrow valleys, which are only traversed by short and torrent-like streams; all the littoral is fertile and picturesque, indented with gulfs and harbours; the climate is one of the best in the world.

This country, once so populous and rich, thanks to its admirable position between the three portions of the ancient continent, has had an immense influence upon the destinies of humanity; but now that the Asiatic and European civilizations, which crossed each other upon that privileged soil, have disappeared, great towns are scarcely to be found there any longer, neither are monuments, nor roads; industry still offers some resources, but commerce there is in a pitiable condition, and in more than one direction is to be found sterility and desolation. It is in the vicinity of the seas and upon the western portion of the plateau that the soil is most fertile; the eastern portion, on the contrary, forms a kind of desert, wherein pasture-ground only is to be found, and which is totally devoid of that in many places.

Anatolia was formerly divided into different regions, almost entirely physical; those were, in going from east to west, upon the Mediterranean: *Cilicia, Pamphylia* and

Lycia; in reascending the shore of the Archipelago: *Caria, Lydia* and *Mysia;* then, to the north, upon the Black Sea: *Bithynia, Paphlagonia* and *Pontus;* finally, the centre or plateau formed *Phrygia, Galatia* and *Cappadocia.* It is after these ancient divisions that we are about to describe the country; but, first of all, it must be premised that, in the 14th century Anatolia was divided into a great number of Turkish principalities which had been successively subjugated by the Ottomans, and which still give their names to certain *eyalets* of Turkey in Asia. These principalities were those of *Karamania* in Cappadocia and a part of Cilicia, with Iconium for the capital; of *Kermian* in Phrygia, of *Karasi* in Mysia, with Pergamus for the capital; of *Sarou-Khan* in Lydia, of *Aïdin* in Ionia, of *Mentesche* in Caria, of *Tekiĕh* in Lycia and Pamphylia, of *Hamid* in Pisidia and Lycaonia, of *Kastamouni* in Paphlagonia, &c.

1. *Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia.*

Cilicia extended from Alexandretta to the mouth of the Selinus; it formed, in the early days of Ottoman history, a part of the principality of Karamania; there is to be found—*Payas,* at the end of the Gulf of Alexandretta, upon the ruins of *Issus,* celebrated by the victory of Alexander over the Persians; on the other side of the gulf springs the Djihoun (Pyramus), which takes its rise at the junction of the Taurus with the Amanus, and the valley of which, naturally fertile, remains uncultivated, and is only inhabited by a few tribes of Turkomans.

To the west of Cape Kara-Dagh, the coast forms a fresh gulf, in which are the mouths of the Sarus and the Cydnus.

The *Sarus* or *Sihoun* has its source in the plateau of Asia Minor, in Karamania, to the north of the Taurus; it crosses the chain in a deep defile, known by the name of the *Gate of Judas,* waters *Adana,* situated in a district

abounding in timber used for ship-building, and then falls into the sea.

The *Cydnus* descends from the southern reverse of the Taurus, waters *Tarsous*, a flourishing town, peopled with 30,000 inhabitants, and terminates in the plain of Sarus, a little to the west of that river.

In following the coast, the mouth of the *Lamas*, a small river is seen, which separates Cilicia *Campestris* from Cilicia *Trachæa* (mountainous); the mountains then approach the coast, and at some distance *Selefkeh* (Seleucia Trachæa) is met with, upon the right bank of the *Selef* (Calycadmus), in which the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was drowned. Afterwards, the coast reascends on the north-west and forms the large gulf of *Satalia;* there are to be found the ruins of *Selinonte* (Trajanopolis), where Trajan died, and finally the mouth of the *Selinus*.

Pamphylia, which forms with Lycia the Turkish State of *Lekieh*, occupies the circumference of the Gulf of Satalia as far as Cape *Kelidonia*. Upon the northern coast of the gulf are found the mouths of the *Eurymedon*, celebrated by the victory of Cimon over the Persians, and of the *Cataractes*, which descends from the central plateau and traverses the Taurus; then *Satalia* (Attalia), built amphitheatrically at the foot of the Taurus, and peopled with from 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants; it was famous in the time of the Crusades, and is still flourishing.

Lycia occupies the extremity of a promontory jutting out towards the south, between Cape Kelidonia and the gulf of Macri; the little isles of Kelidonia lie off its coast, with the ruins of *Myra* and those of *Patara*.

2. *Caria, Lydia, and Mysia.*

At *Macri*, which offers the best anchorage of the littoral, commences the coast of *Caria*, which reascends, to the north-west, as far as the mouth of the Meander, and formed in the Middle Ages the Turkish state of

Mentesché. After the gulf of Macri, the coast begins to rise and becomes more and more indented; all the peninsulas that it forms constituted the Greek province of *Doris.* There opens the gulf of *Doride,* beyond which is the promontory of *Crio,* with a village built on the ruins of *Cnidus.* From thence, the gulf of *Cos,* or the *Ceramic* gulf, to the north of which is *Boudroum* (the ancient Halicarnassus), a port defended by a poor citadel. To the north of the promontory of Boudroum is the gulf of *Hassem-Kalessi,* where is found *Palatscha,* a miserable village built upon the ruins of *Miletus,* to the south and near the mouth of the Meander. The *Mendres* (Meander), a great river, famous for its windings, formed to the south the boundary of *Lydia* or of the Greek province of *Ionia;* that river rises in a small lake, upon the central plateau; it descends the western flanks of the plateau by a gorge defended by the fort of *Kanosi,* is increased on the left by the *Lycus,* which waters the ruins of Laodicea, passes near *Guzel-Hissar* (the ancient Magnesia of the Meander) and terminates to the north of the ruins of Miletus.

On turning round the promontory formed by Mount Mycale, stands *Scala-Nova* (Neapolis), a commercial town of 10,000 inhabitants, protected by forts, and above *Ayalask,* a wretched hamlet built upon the ruins of *Ephesus,* and situated at the mouth of the *Cayster,* a small river which descends from the *Tmolus* and *Messogis* mountains by several arms. Cape *Myonese,* to the west of the ruins of *Lebedos,* shuts in on the north the gulf of Ephesus, above which is the bay of *Siadjick,* where are found the ruins of *Teios* and the fort of *Siadjick.*—The coast afterwards projects on the west, the great promontory of *Clazomenæ,* the western side of which, facing the isle of Scio, presents the bay of *Tschesme,* with a harbour rendered famous by the battle of 1770, in which the Russians destroyed the Turkish fleet. On doubling Cape *Kara-Bouroum* the fine gulf of Smyrna is seen, which, with its winding contours, has a depth not less than from 40 to 45 kilometres. Its eastern coast is very nearly parallel to its western, and forms on the north the peninsula of

Phocæa, which, with Cape Kara-Bouroum, shuts the entrance to the gulf.

Smyrna, the emporium of all the commerce of the Levant, a town the most European and the most civilized of all Turkey, rises in an amphitheatre from the edge of the sea, upon the flanks of Mount *Sipylus*; it has a good port defended by two castles. Like the majority of oriental cities, it is badly built and badly ventilated; the interior is dirty and as uninviting as its external appearance is seductive; the Frank quarter is the only part constructed in European fashion. The population, estimated at 120,000 inhabitants, is composed of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Europeans (about 15,000). Its foundation is attributed to Alexander the Great; it was the capital of the Turkish principality of *Aïdin*, which comprehended all Ionia; taken by Tamerlane in 1402, it passed under the Ottoman domination in 1409. The *Smyrna* of Homer appears to have been some three kilometres more to the north-west, towards the fountain of the *Baths of Diana*. The environs are of an extreme fertility.

Having its source in Mount Dindymene, the *Sarabat* or *Hermus*, falls into the gulf of Smyrna. Its valley is wide and formed of fine plains where it waters *Kolah*; below that town it turns to the west and passes by *Magnesia*, a town of pleasant aspect, with about 15,000 inhabitants, and renowned for its commerce in cotton. The Hermus receives, on the west, the *Pactolus*, which waters the village of *Sart*, built upon the ruins of the ancient *Sardis*, the capital of Asia Minor.

The Hermus separates Lydia from Mysia, the coast of which forms the Greek province of Æolia, and extends towards the peninsula of Cyzicus, in the Propontis. Next, at first is found the peninsula of *Phocæa*, which presents on the south the ancient bay of Phocæa, the cradle of the colonists who founded Marseilles, and to the north that of the new Phocæa, defended by a fort; finally, further to the north, lies the bay of *Cumes*.

Beyond the peninsula of Phocæa, the coast of Mysia

forms, two large gulfs, those of *Sanderli* and *Adramiti*, separated by the point of Cydonia, opposite the isle of Lesbos. At the extremity of the first the *Caïcus* empties itself, which rising in the western branches of the Kodja-Dagh, runs downwards past *Pergamus*, the ancient capital of the kings of the Attalus dynasty and the old capital of the Ottoman Kingdom of *Karasia*, situated at the foot of

HISSARLIK (OLD TROY).

a hill that the Acropolis dominates, and in the midst of a plain renowned for its cotton.

Between this gulf and that of Adramiti (Adramyttium) are the ruins of *Cydonia*, a pretty Greek village, remarkable in the last century for its educational establishments, and the inhabitants of which have been dispersed by the Turks throughout the Archipelago. Afterwards, at the extremity of the gulf *Adramit* is found, situate at the foot

of Mount Ida, in the midst of a plain abounding in olive-trees.

Between Cape Baba and Cape Sigæum stands *Eski-Stamboul* (Alexandria Troas), a large city built by Alexander the Great, the ruins of which have supplied materials for the construction of edifices in Constantinople during two centuries.

To the north of Cape Sigæum is the mouth of the *Simoïs*, which descends from Mount Ida across the valley of Æneia, waters, on the left, *Pounar-Bachi*, said to be built upon the site presumably of *Troy* or *Ilium*, the citadel of which (Pergamos) crowns the height, and after a course of 75 kilometres, terminates at the entrance to the Hellespont. The Simoïs formerly blended its mouths with those of the *Scamander*, a water-course of 17 kilometres, situated more to the south, which has been deflected not long since to the south-west by a canal which runs in a direction opposite to Tenedos.

Upon the coast of the Sea of Marmora (Propontis) the mouths of several small rivers are found: the most celebrated is the *Granicus*, which descends from the northern branches of Mount Ida, and upon whose banks Alexander defeated the Persians.

3. *Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia.*

The province of Bithynia extends from the mouth of the Tarsius as far as that of the Parthenius. It is memorable as having been the first important position of the Ottomans. The first noticeable place therein, upon the coast of the Propontis, is the peninsula of Cyzicus, where at the present time stands the village of *Peramo*, situated upon the site of *Cyzicus*, so celebrated formerly for its harbours, its arsenals, and its fortifications.

Between the peninsula and the opening of the Gulf of Moudania, runs the *Sousegherlu* (Macestus), which descends from the northern reverse of the *Kodja-Dagh*, and is swollen by a great number of affluents, the most cele-

brated of which are, on the right, the *Rhyndacus*, which traverses the lake of *Aboulioun*, and the *Niloufer*, the two sources of which comprehend between them Mount Olympus. Upon the northern slopes of that mountain erects itself amphitheatrically the town of *Broussa* (Prusa), the ancient abode of the Bithynian kings and the Ottoman sultans, one of the finest in Turkey. It carries on a commerce which extends to the utmost confines of Asia, has manufactories renowned for their carpets and silks, the silk being the richest product of the country; it possesses 125 mosques, fine fountains, thermal springs, and 100,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded by walls flanked with towers, and protected by a citadel which is crowned by Mount Olympus: its environs are delightful.

At the extremity of the Gulf of Moudania (Cius), the waters of the lake Ascanius disperse themselves, at the eastern point of which formerly stood *Nicæa*, celebrated by the Council of 412 and the battle of 1097, won by the Crusaders over the Seljoukides: it is now a miserable village known as *Iznik*.

The Gulf of Nicomedia, the ancient Gulf of *Astacus*, is very deep, and runs up into the land as far as *Nikomid* or *Ismid*, a village built upon the ruins of *Nicomedia*, taken by the Ottomans in 1330. The northern coast of this gulf trends towards the north-west, to form afterwards, in a north-easterly direction, the *Thracian Bosphorus*. At the entrance of the strait stands first the village of *Kadi-Keui*, the ancient *Chalcedon*, and afterwards *Scutari*.

On quitting the Bosphorus to enter the Black Sea, *Riva*, a small port in a tolerably accessible bay, is passed; and *Kalpé*, a little town remarkable by the fine woods that border it. The coast then trends from Kalpé to Heraclea, a very open gulf, into which, at its extremity, the *Sankaria* (Sangarius) falls.

That river takes its rise on the plateau which dominates *Angora* (Ancyra); it waters that town, the ancient capital of Galatia, which is still sufficiently flourishing, and celebrated by the victory of Tamerlane over Bajazet; it is surrounded by a double *enciente*, and has a population of

20,000 inhabitants. Its territory is bare, but fertile in pasturage, on which feed goats, famed for the beauty of their hair. After numerous windings, in which it bathes the ruins of *Gordium*, lying at the foot of Mount Gordius, and those of *Pessinunte*, the Sangarius descends from the plateau; it receives, on the left, the *Poursak* (Tymbrius), which descends from Mount Dindymene, waters *Kutayé* or *Koutaieh* (Cotyæum), a large town of 30,000 inhabitants, chief town of the Turkish principality of *Kermian* and *Eskischehr* (Dorylœum), celebrated by the battle of 1097, won by the Crusaders, and the environs of which were the cradle of the Ottoman power.* The river afterwards bends to the north-west, as far as its confluence with the *Gallus*, which descends from Mount Olympus; it then turns definitively to the north and runs thus as far as the sea.

After having passed on the coast the little decayed town of Heraclea, the mouth of the *Parthenius* is reached, where *Paphlagonia* begins, which formed, in the early days of Turkish history, the kingdom of *Kastamouni*. The Parthenius, taking its rise on the plateau of Angora, waters *Karadjour*, *Tcherkia*, and terminates to the south of *Amasra*, a small town of 6,000 inhabitants, with a good harbour; the country around is of extraordinary fertility.

Beyond Amasra, the small ports of *Kidros* and *Ineboli* are found; then, towards the most northern point of the coast, *Sinope*, a small town situated upon the isthmus of a peninsula, and which has two roadsteads, the one to the north-west, the other to the south-east; the latter is safe for ships of war, and the only one frequented. Sinope had a ship-building yard, and was the first maritime arsenal of the Turks before they had captured Constantinople: it is the most vulnerable point in all Asia Minor, and was burnt in 1853 by the Russians, at the same time that they destroyed the Turkish fleet.

Beyond Sinope commences *Pontus*, and then the mouth of the *Kizil-Ermak* (Halys) is found, the most considerable river of Anatolia by the length of its course and volume

* See Book II. Chap. iii. § 1.

of water. It rises upon the southern slopes of the plateau of little Armenia, and waters *Sivas* (Sebaste), the ancient capital of that country, now the chief town of a Turkish province, situated in a lofty and very fertile plain; it is surrounded by walls, flanked with towers, with an old citadel on a height. Its population is estimated at 35,000 inhabitants. It is, with Erzeroum, the key of Turkey on the eastern side, as opening the route of the plateau of Anatolia. The Halys then runs at the foot of the slopes of Mount Argis-Dagh, and receives a small stream which comes from *Kaisarieh* (Cæsarea), the ancient capital of Cappadocia; it bends again towards the north across Galatia, is increased by a little affluent passing by *Yousgat*, a town of 10,000 inhabitants, containing some tolerably fine edifices; separates Paphlagonia from Pontus, and, after large and numerous windings, terminates below Bafra, in the Black Sea.

Below the mouth of the Halys, there opens upon the coast the much-frequented small harbour of *Samsoun* (Amisus), then the mouth of the *Jekil-Ermak* (Iris). That river is formed of two parallel arms which rise on the plateau of Little Armenia; the western Iris passes near *Tokat*, a large town of 40,000 inhabitants, situated in a fine valley, and built upon three hills, separated by ravines and crowned with small forts. It carries on a large commerce in silk-stuffs and copper, manipulated in the environs. Thence, the Iris turns towards the north, waters *Amasieh* (Amasia), a large and formerly very flourishing town, but now having only 10,000 inhabitants: it is the birth-place of Strabo; it traverses a gorge, on the north of which it receives, on the right, near the ruins of *Eupatoria*, the eastern Iris, which waters no remarkable place, but which opens the high road from Constantinople to Erzeroum; finally it falls into the Gulf of Samsoun.

Proceeding coastwise, the mouth of the *Thermodon* is reached, next some miserable little harbours occupied by fishermen and the coasting-trade, in magnificent positions and in very fertile territories—*Ounieh*, *Kerisoun* (the ancient Cerasus), *Tireboli*, finally *Trebizonde* (Trapezus), a

decayed city, though still containing 30,000 inhabitants, important by its fortifications, but having a bad roadstead. This place, once the capital of a Greek Empire founded by the Comnenes and destroyed in 1461–2, by Mahomet II., stands upon the flanks of a hill and is walled-in. It is one of the chief centres of commerce between Constantinople and the interior of Asia, and one of the keys of Anatolia.

Beyond Trebizonde there is only Batoum, already described.

4. *Galatia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia.*

The basins of the Sangarius and the Halys having given us the most important places in Galatia and Cappadocia, it only remains to speak of Phrygia, the nucleus of the plateaux of Asia Minor, an elevated, flat country intersected by lakes, deserts and marshes, wherein there is little worthy of notice except *Konieh* (Iconium), a decayed town, the ancient residence of the Seldjoukide sultans of Roum, former chief town of the Turkish principality of *Karaman*, near which, in 1833, a battle was fought between the troops of Mehemet Ali and those of Sultan Mahmoud. Konieh is situated to the east and at the foot of Mount Lycaon, not far from a small lake.

The whole interior of Asia Minor, which once contained so many flourishing towns, is now only inhabited by nomad hordes of Turkomans, descendants of former dwellers in Upper Asia, who having retained the pastoral and hospitable manners of their ancestors, govern themselves, and only pay a tribute to the Sultan.

Asia Minor has a surface of 130,000 kilometres square. It is estimated that its population, which amounted, it is said, formerly to twenty-five million inhabitants, does not now exceed seven millions, of whom two millions are Christians. The Mussulman population is composed of wandering tribes and settled tribes: the latter are the *Osmanlis*, the descendants of the conquerors, who consider

themselves as the most noble race of the whole Empire, and who have, in fact, preserved most of the virtues of their ancestors—courage, dignity, loyalty, and religious zeal; they look upon Constantinople and Turkey in Europe only as an encampment and advanced posts, and Asia Minor, whence have sprung the sons of Othman, as the true centre of the Empire. The loss of the Caucasus has rendered that centre very vulnerable.

Several English officials have lately had leave given them to make a tour in Asia Minor. They have come back full of enthusiasm over the beauty of the scenery, the fertility of the land, the extent of the forests, the size of the rivers and copious rainfall, and the unbounded hospitality of the natives.

5. *The Isles of Asia Minor.*

1. *Cyprus*—the ancient Greek *Kupros*, the modern Greek *Kibris*, the French *Chypre*, the Italian *Cipro*—is an island of much renown, and was famous in the very old world, long before the land which is now to rule it was even known in the regions of light and letters. Thither early came the Phœnicians to worship their goddess ASTAROTH —the ASTARTE and AHPRODITE of the Greeks—but when they came and why they left history has left us no record. Equally little do we know when the Greeks colonized the island, though it is certain that long after they arrived the Phœnicians formed a preponderating element in the population, so that even at that remote period the Cypriotes were very different from the Cretans, Rhodians, and other islanders of the Ægean. At last we get a fact to come and go on—and that is, Herodotus informs us that, 600 years before Christ, Amasis, the Egyptian king, conquered it. Then in 525 B.C. it revolted and became a tributary of Cambyses and the Persian Monarchy. In 500 B.C. the Cypriotes aided the Ionians in their revolt, but soon again became such loyal and prosperous subjects of Persia that when Xerxes invaded Greece the Cypriotes furnished

a contingent of 150 ships to his fleet. After this, Cyprus was a frequent battling ground between the rival powers, and the cities of this prosperous island were eagerly courted by the Greek and Persian kings for the sake of their aid and influence. When Alexander the Great died, the island, after various vicissitudes, passed into the hands of Ptolemy, King of Egypt—though in a few years Demetrius, son of Antigonus, worsted him in the sea fight off Salamis, and became lord of the island—cities, farms, vineyards, forests and mines. But twelve years afterwards Ptolemy again recovered it, and for more than a century his dynasty ruled it. Indeed, during the decline of the Ptolemaic family, Cyprus was for eighteen years a separate kingdom under Lathyrus ; but in 58 B.C., when Ptolemy Auletes was king, the Romans dispossessed him, and thereafter it was a province of Cæsar's Empire. Cyprus, while under the Romans, was notable for an event which may possibly give it an interest in the eyes of the Hebrews. Here, in 117 A.D., the Jews—who had established themselves in great numbers in the island—revolted, and massacred—so it is said—240,000 of their neighbours. Into Cyprus Paul himself introduced Christianity ; and so rapidly did the new religion take root and spread that, at a very early date in its ecclesiastical history, we learn that no less than thirteen bishoprics were established within its bounds. When the Roman Empire fell into two, Cyprus was allotted to the Byzantines, and, with a brief interval during which the Arabs under Othman, and again under Haroun-al-Raschid (646 A.D. and 802 A.D.) possessed themselves of it, it remained in the hands of the Emperors of the East. In 1184, Isaac Comnenus, nephew of the then Emperor, seized Cyprus, and reigned for some time as an independant sovereign ; but in 1191, Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England took it, and bestowed the sovereignty on Guy de Lusignan, as some compensation for his loss of the throne of Jerusalem. With the exception of a short interregnum, when the Genoese seized the town of Famagosta—Guy's descendants held the sovereignty for nearly three centuries. But in 1487, Caterina de Cornaro, widow

of James II., finding herself unable to cope with the power of the Venetian Republic, accepted a sufficient bribe and abdicated, and thus Cyprus once more changed masters. The Doges kept their grasp on it for eighty years. Then, in 1570, Selim II. of Turkey landed with 60,000 men, and after the usual measures characteristic of Ottoman warfare—massacres, treachery, and outrage—subdued the whole island.

In 1764, and again in 1823, there were insurrections, and, of course, massacres; but these the Cypriotes were only too familiar with. The Hebrews massacred, the Romans massacred, the English massacred, and the Turks commenced their invasion by destroying Salamis, which up to 646 had been the capital. Then, in 1570, when Selim took Nicosia, the then capital, he put 20,000 people to the sword; and when Famagosta, the chief commercial town, surrendered, in defiance of the terms of the capitulation, as already recorded, slew more of the people, and put to death with inhuman tortures the Venetian Governor, Bragadino. The horrible truth is that Mustapha Pacha flayed him alive, and after stuffing his skin with hay, paraded it through the town astride a cow. He then hung it at the yardarm of his galley, and in this guise sailed through the Mediterranean! In 1823, accordingly, such a precedent for slaughter having been established—after making Smyrna flow with blood—10,000 troops landed from the adjoining province of Syria, to spread desolation through the island, and intimidate the inhabitants who had taken up arms for the Greeks. "Every village," writes one of the historians of these events, "was a scene of plunder and bloodshed. The chief towns were sacked and burnt. The Metropolitan, five bishops, and a multitude of other ecclesiastics were put to death, the Christian population butchered without distinction, and their wives and daughters made the slaves of the ruthless assassins." Under these calamities Cyprus had rapidly sunk; and though the increasing trade of the Levant could not fail to be in some degree shared by it, yet the exactions of

the Pachas and Zaptiehs, the villanous imposts of every kind on commerce and agriculture, and the general insecurity of life and property have checked the prosperity of Cyprus in all directions. Its once famous towns had become miserable places—dead or dying—none of them, with the exception of Larnaca, possessing more than 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants. Famagosta—famous for its defence against the Turks—was reduced to a poor place, with a few hundred inhabitants, its crumbling walls only serving to remind the visitor of its former splendour. The inhabitants, said to have been a million under the Venetian rule—though this is probably an over statement—do not number at present 200,000. They have been slain, starved, or enslaved, and at the date of the Greek independence thousands fled to a freer rule. At present the Turks, who contribute only a third of the population, are a fanatical race, while the Greeks bear an unenviable reputation for roguery. But the Cretans and the Cypriotes have always since the days of Epimenides—"one of your own poets," quoted by St. Paul, borne the reputation of liars and rascals. And with such examples as they have had before them it would be remarkable had they been anything else. The last Consular Report so aptly describes the recent condition of Cyprus that the words of that authoritative document may well be quoted. "Public works," writes Mr. Ridley, "there are none to record, either begun or ended. The shipping ports continue in the same state of neglect and dilapidation as depicted in my report of 1874. Vizierial orders to provincial governors have not been wanting, enjoining the construction of roads, quays, jetties, &c., but as no funds are provided or set apart for these purposes, the urgent orders do not go practically any further than their being recorded and duly applauded in the European journals; and in the present deplorable financial position of Turkey, it is vain even to expect expenditure on any useful public works, there being an endless pressure for money and a continual drain of every penny from the provincial treasuries. The net revenue of Cyprus during the

financial year is, with presumably tolerable accuracy, computed at over 20,000,000 piastres, all of which is drained from the island to help imperial necessities at the capital. The promulgation of the recent firman of reforms has in no way excited the confidence or enthusiasm of the people, and it is only too probable that, like its numerous predecessors, it will remain practically a dead letter; indeed, it may be reasonably doubted whether the provincial governors and local courts be sufficiently intelligent to comprehend or put in force its otherwise excellent provisions, while some of its enactments are at such variance with Mahomedan ethics that it can hardly be expected that they can be either recognized or enforced by consistent Mahomedans." Such is the state of the island we have taken in hand.

Cyprus is the most eastern island of the Mediterranean, and lies off the Coast of Syria. It is 145 miles in length, extreme breadth 55 miles, and its minimum breadth 27 miles, having an area of 4,500 square miles—about the size of Jamaica—or nearly a third less than Yorkshire. Its form is very nearly that of a parallelogram, the four summits of which may be marked by capes Salizano and Cormachiti on the north, Grego and Gatte on the south, and which could be prolonged on the north-east by a very tapering promontory as far as Cape Saint-André. A mountain chain, more or less sinuous, traverses it from Cape Saint-André on the north-east as far as Cape Blanc on the south-west; the culminating point is Mount Sainte-Croix (Olympus), which throws out a counter-scarp towards the east. Between the chain and that counter-scarp extends a valley in which stands the capital, Nicosia, a large and strong town, situated upon a small water-course which empties itself to the north of Cape Grego, near Famagosta. Upon the southern coast, at the foot of Mount Sainte-Croix, are found the ruins of *Amathonte;* upon that of the south-west, to the north of Cape Blanc, are the two Paphos; to the north of Nicosia and at the foot of the mountains, *Cythera.* The climate varies in different parts; the northern region is the most hilly and

wooded, and the least fertile; and the heat in that district is tempered by the winds from the Karamanian mountains, which preserve the frozen snow in the highest spots during the greater part of the year. The cold is very severe in winter. In the plains in the southern districts of Cyprus the heat of the sun is excessive, but is moderated by the sea breezes. It is a very important possession, and whence are dominated the shores of Anatolia, Egypt and Syria: what are its resources, and what its prospects under its new rulers, will be discussed elsewhere.

2. *Rhodes*, so celebrated in antiquity by its laws, its civilization, and its wealth, now ruined, but always important by its situation, which commands the navigation of the Eastern Mediterranean. It extends, in its greatest length, from south-west to north-east, opposite the coast of the ancient Doris. The city, situated at the northern extremity of the island, is one of the strongest places in Turkey, and its port, one of the principal maritime establishments. It was captured by the Turks from the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in 1523.

The other principal islands are:—*Susam* (Samos), a Greek and Christian island, opposite Ephesus, which enjoys self-government under the protection of the Sultan. —*Scio* (Chios), separated by a narrow channel from the promontory of Clazomenæ, formerly the richest and most civilized of the Archipelago, ruined by the Turks in 1822, and reduced from 100,000 inhabitants to 14,000.—*Mytilene* (Lesbos), flourishing, populous, and with good military harbours.—*Tenedos*, the key of the Hellespont, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

TURKEY IN ASIA. SYRIA AND ARABIA.

1. *Mountains of Syria.*

IT has been shown that from Mount Taurus towards the sources of the Pyramus the chain of the Amanus mountains is detached. The *Amanus* mountains (Alma-Dagh), which approach the Mediterranean on the south-east, separate Cilicia from Syria, leaving only two narrow passages, the one towards the Euphrates called the *Amanian Gates*, from Marach to Aïntab, the other, towards the sea, called the *Syrian Gates*, from Alexandretta to Antioch; these two *cols* are celebrated in all the invasions of the interior of Asia, and notably in those of Alexander, who fought near the last-named the battle of Issus.

The *Amanus* terminates, upon the right bank of the Orontes by Mount *Pierus*, the heights of which crown the low valley of the river, and by them it is united, on the other bank, to Mount *Cassius*, a lofty peak situate to the south of Antioch, and where the *Libanus* (Lebanon) commences.

The chain of the Libanus extends from north to south, in Syria, following the sinuosities of the coast, and separates into two principal branches: the *Libanus*, properly so called, which rises to a height of 3,400 metres, extends to the south-east of Tripoli between the Eleutheros and the Leontes, and is prolonged by the mountains of Judæa and Mount Thabor towards Jerusalem; the *Anti-Libanus*, situate on the side of the plains of Damascus, which has an elevation of 4,800 metres. The Libanus and the Anti-Libanus form towards Baalbec a narrow valley, the ancient Cœlo-Syria, through which run in an inverse sense the two rivers the Eleutheros and the Leontes.

The Anti-Libanus is prolonged on one side to the east of the Eleutheros, forming thus the western belt of the Orontes, whilst on the other side it forms the eastern belt of the valley of the Jordan. As for the eastern belt of the basin of the Orontes, it is formed by a chain not very clearly defined, attached on the north to the Amanus towards Aïntab, and composed of mountains of conical form, of an uncertain connection and which, like the mountains of Algeria, are most frequently united by their bases or effaced on the east towards the Arabian desert in vast plateaux, such as are those of Aleppo and Damascus.

The chain of the Libanus is composed therefore, definitively, of two chains linked together by the Anti-Libanus on the north of Damascus: the oriental one slightly defined in the north to the east of the Orontes, and more strongly delineated in the south by the prolongation of the Anti-Libanus on the east of the Jordan; the western one, comprehending the Libanus and the mountains of Judæa which are the prolongation of it. The Libanus, with its mass of 4,000 metres, which rises abruptly on the edge of the sea, its peaks of dazzling whiteness, its flanks covered with the noblest forests, its intricacies dotted with villages and fortified monasteries, its torrents tumbling from the loftiest heights, the rich vegetation of its slopes, its sky of a splendid serenity, the fine sea over which it impends, the vicinity of the desert, the historic associations which arrest one at almost every step, presents the most majestic aspect, the most poetic contrasts, and forms one of the most interesting chains in the world.

The heights which, under the name of *Djebel-Seir* and *Djebel-Hairan*, rise to the south of the Dead Sea and wind about in the north-western part of Arabia, are the last summits of the Libanus, a counter-slope of which terminates by the culminating point of *Sinai* at the extremity of the Red Sea. The Libanus is considered as prolonging itself to the south-west across the Isthmus of Suez, entering Africa to continue the belt of water-shed of the

Indian Ocean, whilst to the south and to the south-west its extremities are lost in the high deserts of the north of Arabia. That peninsula seems occupied by an immense plateau surmounted and crowned by mountains which, as it is thought, extend irregularly in all directions, sometimes rising to a great height, sometimes interrupted by vast and arid plains; the principal chain appears to skirt the coast of the Red Sea as far as Cape Bab-el-Mandeb.

2. *Coasts and Towns of Syria.*

The long reach of country comprised between the Libanus and the Mediterranean, so populous, so fertile, so civilized in ancient times, the theatre of so many marvels and revolutions, is now waste, barbarous, arid, and the remnants of twenty races of men who have passed over that once famous land vegetate amongst ruins. Among the peoples who inhabit it, we shall mention the *Syrians*, the ancient possessors of the country, confounded with the *Greeks*, who deprived them of it, then the *Arabs* and the *Turks*, who by turns conquered it; besides Jews, there are also found tribes from every quarter of the East: *Ansaris*, *Mutualis*, *Druses*, *Maronites*, *Kurds* and *Turkomans*. The Arabs form the chief population of the countries, and hordes of *Bedouins*, or nomad Arabs, are scattered over the plains which extend to the east of the Dead Sea as far as the Euphrates; the Turks and the Greeks inhabit the towns; the Kurds and the Turcomans are met with especially in the valley of the Orontes, and the other tribes live in the mountains. It is in the interior of the Libanus, or *the Mountain*, that dwell the two celebrated and often hostile peoples—the Maronites and the Druses. The first are Roman Catholics and, from the time of the Crusades, placed under the protection of France; we have had often to speak of them in the course of this history. The *Ansaris*, who adore the sun, are also found in the Libanus, whilst the *Mutualis*, Mussulmans, have withdrawn into the Anti-Libanus.

The area of Syria is estimated at 120,000 square kilometres; its population at 1,850,000 inhabitants, of whom 900,000 are Mussulmans (Turks, Arabs, Kurds, &c.), 20,000 Mutualis, 80,000 Druses, 250,000 Maronites, 345,000 Greeks, and 165,000 Jews.

The two principal rivers of Syria are the Jordan and the Orontes, the valleys of which are divided by a ridge; on the west of these two streams, some rivulets or torrents escape towards the Mediterranean; on the east some others lose themselves in the deserts. The country is thus found to be separated into two very distinct regions: the flat and the mountainous country.

The mountainous region occupies the centre of Syria, that is to say, it comprehends the Libanus and the Anti-Libanus, with the mountains of Judæa which form a continuation to the west of the Jordan; the flat region comprehends all the littoral and the eastern chain of Syria, with the plateaux of Aleppo and Damascus which bound it on the east, and the basins of the Orontes and of the Jordan which limit it on the west. The mountainous region yields oil, wine, silk and wood both for fuel and building purposes; the flat country produces cereals, fruits of every sort and tobacco; the part the most naturally fertile is the eastern region, but the vicinity of the nomad tribes prevents its being cultivated. The only minerals found here are iron and pit coal in small quantity, salt and asphalte. The climate is very hot in the eastern plains and upon the coasts, temperate in the valleys and among the mountains.

The coast of Syria runs nearly in a straight line, and slightly inclined to the south-west; it offers few good ports; to the south, from the Isthmus of Suez as far as Mount Carmel, extends the ancient *Palestine*, a level plain, bordered on the east by the mountains of Judæa, watered only by a few torrents, and nevertheless very fertile. The principal ports found there are:—

1. *El Arish* (Rhinocolura) a strong place situated at the entrance of the Syrian desert and belonging to Egypt; taken by the French in 1799.

2. *Gaza*, a small and ancient town, the key of Syria on the south, situated at some five kilometres from the sea, on a plain fertile in dates and sugar canes; taken by Alexander and Napoleon.

3. *Ascalon*, of which only the ruins remain, upon the brink of a torrent descending from the mountains of Judæa; battle in 1099 gained by the crusaders over the Mussulmans.

4. *Joppa* (Jaffa), a small port, the nearest to Jerusalem; the town, built amphitheatrically, is very poorly fortified.

5. *Kaisarieh* (Cæsarea), important in the time of the crusades, now deserted.

6. *Kaifa*, a small town situate at the foot of Mount Carmel, to the south of a bay into which falls the *Kison*.

7. *Saint-Jean-d'Acre* (Acco, or Ptolemais), a very strong town and very celebrated in the time of the crusades; taken by Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur-de-Lion; besieged fruitlessly by Bonaparte in 1799; taken by the English in 1840 when defended by the troops of the Pacha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali. It is surrounded on three sides by the sea, and is only accessible on the land side by a point defended by a fort. It is the most southern town of the Phœnician littoral, which extended from Mount Carmel to Laodicea. It has only from 6,000 to 7,000 inhabitants.

8. *Sour* (Tyre), the queen of the sea in antiquity, the capital of Phœnicia, which kept Alexander during twelve months before its walls; it is now only a mean town of from 2,000 to 3,000 souls.

9. *Seyde* (Sidon), upon a slightly elevated plateau, a new town with an open roadstead, the ancient Sidon was at eight kilometres more to the east. Seyde is the emporium of the commerce that comes from the interior through Damascus and Baalbek.

10. *Beyrout* (Berytus), important in antiquity and in the time of the crusades, now a harbour much frequented.

11. *Tripoli* (Tripolis) is situated in a small plain between the sea and the Libanus, to the south of the

mouth of the *Kadicha;* it has a harbour defended by a castle.

12. *Tortosa* (Orthosia), a wretched village opposite an islet upon which once stood the great town of Aradus.

13. *Ladikieh* or *Latakieh* (Laodicæa), founded by Seleucus Nicator, is the prettiest town in Syria; it is well built and situated upon a promontory which advances towards the island of Cyprus; its harbour is only capable of receiving vessels of light draught. It carries on a large commerce in wine and tobacco with Egypt: 7,000 inhabitants.

The principal streams which water this coast are:—

1. The *Kison*, a torrent that runs from the south-east to the north-west across the valley of *Esdrelon*, the most fertile of Judæa, which opens between Mount *Thabor* (600 metres) on the east, and Mount *Carmel* (650 metres) on the west; this valley has been the place of encampment for every nation which has invaded Judæa, from Nebuchadnezzar down to Napoleon; there lies *Nazareth*, *Cana*, on the north-west of Mount Thabor, upon the way from Acre to Damascus, and a host of other celebrated places.

2. The *Kasmié* (Leontes), which springs in the *Cœlo-Syria*, at the foot of the ruins of *Baalbek*, the ancient and opulent Heliopolis, flows from the north-east to the south-west in a very deep and very fertile valley between the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and terminates at ten kilometres to the north of Tyre. The valley of the Leontes, which has a length of about forty kilometres by thirteen or fourteen in breadth, is inhabited at present by the *Mutualis*.

3. The *Eleutheros* (now the *Naar-el-Kebir*) descends from the highest summits of the Libanus, inhabited by the *Ansaris*, descendants of the ancient votaries of *the Old Man of the Mountain;* it terminates to the north of Latakia.

4. The *Orontes* takes its rise on the eastern slope of the Anti-Libanus, and runs parallel to that chain from south-east to north-west; it waters *Hems* (Emesa), a town of

from 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants; *Hamath* or *Hama* (Epiphanius), a town of from 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, in a gorge through which passes the route from Aleppo to Damascus; *Famieh* (Apamia), a half-ruined town, at the origin of a small lake which the river runs through, and celebrated for its pastures, whereon formerly fed, it is stated, 30,000 mares and 300 stallions; *Antakieh* (the ancient Antioch), formerly the metropolis of the East, now reduced to 10,000 inhabitants from the 600,000 which it had in the time of the Romans; it was taken by the Crusaders in 1097, and destroyed by the Mamelukes in 1269. Below Antakieh, the river, passing between the Pierus on the right, and the Cassius on the left, throws itself into the sea, a little to the south of the ruins of the ancient *Seleucia*.

3. *Palestine.*

To the south of Syria, between the two Libanus, lies the inner basin of the *Jordan*, which constitutes the largest portion of the ancient *Palestine* or *Judæa*. That so celebrated river has its birth in Mount *Hermon*, upon the western slope of the Anti-Libanus, runs through Lake Merom, then the Lake of Tiberius (Genesareth), to the west of which was Galilee, where stands Mount *Thabor*, a detached peak of the Libanus, and celebrated by the victory of the French over the Arabs in 1799. The Jordan, on emerging from Lake Tiberius, continues to flow to the south, leaving on the west all the country of *Samaria*, in which stands *Sebasta*, a small village which has replaced the ancient *Samaria*, the capital of the kings of Israel; *Naplouse* (Sichem and Neapolis) and *Rihah*, a miserable hamlet upon the ruins of *Jericho*. Then it throws itself, after a course of 160 kilometres, into the lake Bahr-el-Louth (the Dead Sea, or Lacus Asphaltites). This lake, so remarkable physically and historically, is shut in between the blackish walls of two rough and arid chains, which form for it a long basin dug out of a clayish soil,

mingled with beds of bitumen, salt, and soda; it contains no fish, and its shores, as well as the mountains that surround it, wear an aspect of the most frightful desolation; it has an extent of fourteen myriametres square, and is sunk some 420 metres below the Mediterranean level. On the west of this lake, "at the centre of these mountains," says Chateaubriand, "an arid basin is found shut in on all sides by yellow, rocky peaks; their summits open only towards the east to allow the gulf of the Dead Sea and the distant mountains of Arabia to be seen. In the midst of this region of stones, within the precincts of a wall, some melancholy ruins may be descried; a few sparse cypresses, bushes of aloes and nopals, a few decayed Arab huts, resembling whited sepulchres, cover that mass of ruins: that is melancholy Jerusalem!"—*Jerusalem* (Hierosolyma of the Romans, Koudsi-Cherif, the Holy City of the Turks) occupies the lower part of Mount Sion, the mount of Acra and the Calvary; it is surrounded with walls flanked by towers, and skirted by the torrent *Cedron*, which falls into the Dead Sea. It scarcely can boast of 20,000 inhabitants. Besieged, captured and destroyed by the Romans in A.D. 70; rebuilt by Hadrian under the name of Ælia Capitolina; taken by the Arabs in 637 A.D., by the Crusaders in 1099, by Saladin in 1188, by the Turks in 1517. In its environs are the Mount of *Olives*, the valley of *Josaphat*, the villages of *Bethany* and *Bethlehem*: the first is to the east of Jerusalem, separated from it by the Cedron; the second is to the south of the city, &c.

Two other inner basins, but very small, are situated to the east of the Libanus and near the great desert; those of Lake *Bahr-el-Merg* and Lake *Kincoïn*. Into the first falls the river *Baradi* (Chrysorhoas), which passes by *Damascus*, the richest and most flourishing of the towns of Syria, situated in a veritable garden of 240 kilometres circumference, with a population of 150,000 inhabitants. Damascus is fortified, has vast suburbs beyond its walls, schools of letters and theology, manufactories of silk and jewellery; its sword-blades, formerly so famous, are still

esteemed. Into Lake *Kincoïn* the *Koueïk* throws itself, after passing *Aleppo* (Beræa) or *Kaleb*, the capital of Syria, almost entirely in ruins from the earthquake of 1822.

Syria, formerly a dependency of the Pacha of Egypt, is now tributary directly to the Sultan.

4. *Arabia.*

This vast peninsula, bounded by the Red Sea, the Sea of Osman, the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the mountains of Syria and the Isthmus of Suez, is merely a square plateau traversed by mountain chains, the order and direction of which are unknown, intersected by immense deserts of sand, without deep valleys and without streams, inhabited by independent tribes, some nomad, others stationary. The coasts are generally fertile, as well as are some of the small interior valleys; but the heat is almost everywhere intense, and affords but few products; however, coffee, balsam and the horse are the glory of Arabia. Intermediate between Africa and Asia, junction of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, this region was the compulsory route of the commerce of India before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and it has exercised a very great influence over the destinies of the East, not only by its position, but still more by the energetic, ardent and intelligent character of its people. It was thence sprang, as we have seen, the conquering religion of Mahomet.

The largest portion of Arabia is nominally under the dependence of the Sultan; but, in reality, he only possesses the *Hedjaz*, in the vicinity of the Red Sea, and where are the Holy Cities of Islamism: 1. *Mecca*, a large city celebrated as the birthplace of Mahomet, inhabited by 60,000 persons, and defended by three forts; it possesses a harbour at *Djeddah*, a town of much commercial activity, with 30,000 inhabitants; 2. *Yatreb* or *Medinet-el-Nabi*, the city which contains the Prophet's tomb, with 30,000

inhabitants; *Yambo* is its port; 3. *Akaba*, a village situate upon the ruins of Asiongaber, whence the Phœnicians and the Hebrews carried on commerce with Africa and India; 4. *Eldjy*, upon the ruins of Petra, to the north of which stood *Karack* and *Montreal*, celebrated in the time of the Crusades.

APPENDIX.

SUMMARY OF THE BERLIN TREATY.

FIRST meeting of the Congress 13th June, 1878; twentieth and last meeting, Treaty signed, 13th July, 1878.

ARTICLES 1–12.—Bulgaria constituted an autonomous Principality, tributary to the Sultan; the Balkans southern limit; the Prince to be elected by the population, approved by the Sultan and other Powers; public laws and other details.

ARTICLES 13–22.—New Province of Eastern Roumelia constituted; partially autonomous; boundaries defined; Christian Governor-General to be appointed by the Sultan; to be organized by an Austrian Commission; a Russian army of occupation to remain nine months.

ARTICLE 23.—Bosnia and Herzegovina to be occupied and administered by Austro-Hungary.

ARTICLES 24–30.—Montenegro to be independent; new frontiers; Antivari annexed.

ARTICLES 31–39.—Servia to be independent, with new frontiers.

ARTICLES 40–49.—Roumania to be independent, losing part of Bessarabia to Russia, with compensation.

ARTICLES 50–54.—Regulation of navigation of the Danube, &c.

ARTICLES 55–57.—Legal reforms in Crete, &c.

ARTICLE 58.—The Porte cedes to Russia, Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, and settles boundaries.

ARTICLE 59.—Batoum to be a free commercial port.

ARTICLE 60.—Alasgird and Bayazid restored to Turkey.

ARTICLES 61–62.—The Porte engages to realize legal reforms, and to grant religious liberty, &c.

ARTICLE 63.—The Treaty of Paris (30th March, 1856) and of London (13th March, 1871), maintained when not modified by this Treaty.

ARTICLE 64.—Treaty to be ratified in three weeks' time. Ratified 3rd August, 1878.

SUMMARY OF CHIEF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE BERLIN TREATY SINCE ITS SIGNATURE.

1879. *May* 30.—Installation of Prince Alexander Vogorides (Aleko Pacha) as Governor-General of the new State of Eastern Roumelia, created by the Treaty of Berlin.

June 26.—Abdication of Ismail I., Khedive of Egypt, in favour of his son, Mohammed Tewfik, who is at once proclaimed.

July 8.—Entry of Prince Alexander, newly elected ruler of Bulgaria, into Tirnova, eastern capital of the Principality.

September 8.—Occupation of the Turkish Sanjak of Novi-Bazar by Austrian troops.

October 30.—Opening of the first Legislative Assembly of Bulgaria by Prince Alexander I.

BULGARIA.

Constitution and Government of Bulgaria.—It was ordered by Article 1 of the Treaty of Berlin that Bulgaria should be "constituted an autonomous and tributary Principality under the suzerainty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. It will have a Christian Government and a National Militia." Art. 3 ordered, "The Prince of Bulgaria shall be freely elected by the population and confirmed by the Sublime Porte, with the consent of the Powers. No member of any of the reigning Houses of the Great European Powers can be elected Prince of Bulgaria."

By the constitution of 1879, the legislative authority is vested in a single chamber, called the National Assembly of Bulgaria. The members of it are elected by universal manhood suffrage, at the rating of one member to every 20,000 of the population, "counting both sexes." The Prince has the right of nominating, in addition, a number of deputies equal to half the number returned by the popular vote. The time of duration of the Assembly is four years, but it may be dissolved at any time by the Prince, when new elections must take place within four months.

Area and Population.—The boundaries of the Principality were fixed by the Treaty of Berlin as follows:—"The Principality of Bulgaria will include the following territories—the frontier follows on the North the right bank of the Danube from the ancient frontier of Servia up to a point to be determined by a European Commission to the East of Silistria, and from thence runs to the Black Sea to the South of Mangalia, which is included in Roumanian territory. The Black Sea forms the Eastern boundary of Bulgaria. On the South the frontier follows upwards from its mouth the water way of the brook near which are situated the villages Hodzakioj, Selam-Kioj, Aivadsik, Kulibe, Sudzuluk, crosses obliquely the valley of the Deli-Kameik, passes South of Belibe and Kemhalik and North of Hadzimahale after having passed the Deli-Kameik at 2½ kilometres above Cengei, reaches the crest at a point situated between Tekenlik and

Aidos-Bredza, and follows it by Karnabad Balkan, Prisevica Balkan, Karan Balkan, to the North of Kotel as far as Demir Kapu. It proceeds by the principal chain of the Great Balkan, the whole extent of which it follows up to the summit of Korica. There it leaves the crest of the Balkans, descending Southwards," &c., &c. The accurate settlement of the frontiers of the Principality was left to a European Commission, appointed by the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin.

It must be remembered that the proximate estimate of the area of Bulgaria and other provinces given in the foregoing geographical description of Turkey (Book V.) was their extent *previous* to the Treaty of Berlin.

Under the existing provisional arrangements, Bulgaria is divided into nine provinces, namely, Widdin, Sistova, Rustchuk, Varna, Tirnova, Sofia, Philippopolis, Slivno, and Skoblia or Uskup. Each of these is subdivided into several arrondissements, or circles. The capital of the Principality is the city of Philippopolis, on an island of the river Maritza, here navigable, with a population of 45,000. The other principal towns are Varna, with an estimated population of 18,000; Shumla with 20,000; Rustchuk with 25,000; Tirnova with 30,000; Gabrova, 15,000 to 20,000; and Widdin, 25,000 to 30,000. Besides these, there are 15 to 20 small towns of from 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants each. The great majority of the population live by the cultivation of the soil and the produce of their flocks and herds.

Alexander L, born April 5, 1857, son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, brother of the late Empress of Russia, was elected by the unanimous vote of the Constituent Assembly, April 29, 1879. The Prince has the grant of an annual civil list of 6,000,000 lei or £24,000, with maintenance of a palace, or "Konak," at Sofia.

EASTERN ROUMELIA.

Eastern Roumelia was created by the Treaty of Berlin, signed July 13, 1878. It was ordered that a State or "Province," should be formed South of the Balkans, which will take the name of "Eastern Roumelia," and will remain under the direct political and military authority of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, under conditions of administrative autonomy. By Articles 15–17 of the Treaty it was further provided that the Sultan will have the right of providing for the defence of the land and sea frontiers of the province by erecting fortifications on those frontiers and maintaining troops there. Internal order is maintained in Eastern Roumelia by a native gendarmery assisted by a local militia. Regard shall be had to the religion of the inhabitants in respect to the composition of these corps, the officers of which are named by the Sultan, according to the localities, who engages not to employ irregular troops, such as Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians, in the garrison of the frontiers.

Area and Population.—The boundaries of Eastern Roumelia

were fixed by Art. 13 of the Treaty of Berlin, as follows:—"Starting from the Black Sea, the frontier line shall run from its mouth along the valley of the stream, near which are situated the villages of Hodzakioj, Selam Kioj, Arvadsik, Kulibe, Sudzuluk, crosses obliquely the valley of Deli-Kameik, passes to the South of Belibe and Kemhalik, and to the North of Hadzimahale, after having crossed the Deli-Kameik at a distance of 2½ kilometres above Cengei, reaches the crest of the mountains at a point between Tekenlik and Aidos-Bredza, and follows it by the Karnabad Balkan, Prisevica Balkan, Kazal Balkan, to the North of Kotel up to Demir Kapu. The frontier passes by the principal chain of the Great Balkans, which it follows throughout its whole length to the summit of Kosica. At this point the Western frontier of Roumelia leaves the crest of the Balkans, descending Southwards," &c., &c. The exact settlement of the boundaries of the new State was left to a European Commission, appointed by the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin.

The following are the exact figures of the official enumerators as given in the Eastern Roumelian census, which was completed in last July (1880): Bulgarians, 573,231; Mahometans, 174,759; Greeks, 42,516; Gipsies, 19,324; Jews, 4,177; Armenians, 1,306. In the above enumeration, 15,000 Catholics and Protestant Bulgarians are returned as Bulgarians; but about 25,000 Pomaks or Mahometan Bulgarians are returned as Mahometans, so that there are really about 600,000 Bulgarians, out of a total population of 923,179, in Eastern Roumelia. The Greeks hardly exceed 5 per cent. of the population.

Agriculture is the chief occupation, but it is in a very backward condition, and there is scarcely any trade.

The Treaty of Berlin, as might have been expected, has given Herren Behm and Wagner, in the new issue (No. 6) of their well-known "*Bevölkerung der Erde*," no little difficulty. They have, however, gone into the whole subject most thoroughly, and the result could scarcely be more satisfactory. They have made a planimetrical estimate of the areas of Roumania and the countries of the Balkan Peninsula on the basis of the Austrian staff map. With the retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia and the acquisition of the Dobrudscha, the area of Roumania is now found to be 129,947 square kilometres, the population of which may be set down as 5,376,000. Servia has been increased in area about one third, its present area being 48,657 square kilometres, and its population 1,589,650. By the treaty Montenegro received an addition of 5,109 square kilometres, its present area being thus 9,475 square kilometres, and its total population 286,000. European Turkey, with its more or less dependent States and its almost total want of trustworthy statistics, has evidently vexed the souls of these two painstaking geographers. As the final result of much comparison of statistics they come to the conclusion that the direct possessions of Turkey in Europe have an area of 179,475 square kilometres and a population of 4,790,000; Eastern Roumelia, 35,387 square kilometres, and population 923,179;

Bulgaria 63,865 square kilometres, and population 1,965,474. Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Novi-Bazar 60,484 square kilometres, and population of 1,187,879,—giving a total area for *European* Turkey and her dependencies of 339,211 square kilometres, and a total population of 8,886,500. In Asia again, including Cyprus and Samos, Turkey has remaining a territory of 1,899,206 square kilometres, with a population of 16,320,000; so that the total possessions of dismembered Turkey in Europe and Asia still cover an area of 2,238,417 square kilometres, or about 864,000 square miles, and a population of 25,186,500.

THE TURKISH ARMY.

The actual strength of the Turkish army is, owing to the impossibility of obtaining accurate information respecting its distribution, the effective of the several units, and so forth, extremely difficult to estimate; but according to the calculation made by a Prussian officer, there were altogether some 150,000 to 160,000 men under arms at the end of 1879. Of these, 30,000 were in Constantinople, Gallipoli, Tjataldja, 20,000 in the vilayet of Adrianople, 15,000 in the vilayet of Salonica, 40,000 in Thessaly and Epirus, 7,000 in Scutari and the neighbourhood, 10,000 in Kossovo, 4,000 in Crete, 8,000 in Syria, 10,000 in Asia Minor, 10,000 in Mesopotamia, and 6,000 in Yemen. Another Prussian officer, however, estimates that at the close of last year (1879) there were more than 110,000 Turkish soldiers in European Turkey. Early in the present year the peace establishment of the Turkish army was further reduced; but in July last the effective of all the European Nizam battalions was raised to 800 men, so that at the present time there may be between 95,000 and 100,000 soldiers in European Turkey; but of these more than half may be set down as recruits. On the Greek frontier, however, a large number of irregular troops have assembled; but the strength of these, as well as of the Albanian League, cannot be even approximately estimated. The men of the regular army are well armed, but a large number of them, being recruits called to the colours during the past summer, are only very imperfectly trained; while, as officers, non-commissioned officers, and men alike have received no pay to speak of for two years, the discipline of the army has naturally become impaired. Apart from their armament, the equipment of the men is miserable; but deficiency of clothing and lack of accoutrements have never yet prevented the Turkish soldier from bearing himself gallantly in the field.

The Eastern Roumelian army, according to a German military critic, is a sister force of the Bulgarian, and, like the latter, has sprung from the militia originally organized by the Russians in Bulgaria. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, this militia was divided between the newly created Principality of Bulgaria, and the autonomous province of Eastern Roumelia, the latter receiving 9

battalions of infantry, 2 sothias of cavalry, and half a battery of field artillery (4 guns) as its share. The war establishment of the force which has been formed round this nucleus now comprises 12 battalions of infantry of the 1st, and 12 battalions of the 2nd levy (each battalion consisting of 24 officers and 949 non-commissioned officers and men), with complements of the other arms of the service, the strength of which is not yet detailed, but will depend upon the number of guns, horses and trained men available when war breaks out. A further means of giving military training and instruction to a large number of the inhabitants of Eastern Roumelia is moreover, afforded by the so-called "Gymnastic Societies." These societies were, it is true, dissolved at the instance of the Turkish Government by a decree of the Governor-General on the 11th November, 1879; but a few days afterwards another decree virtually re-established them under another name. Their strength at the present time cannot be exactly calculated, but it is estimated that they comprise between 30,000 and 35,000 men; while it is certain that they form an element of the armed strength of the province which it would be unwise to undervalue.

The last incident connected with the execution of the provisions of the Berlin Treaty has been a Naval Demonstration on the Albanian coast by the combined squadrons of the six signatory Powers to enforce the cession of Dulcigno and the neighbouring coast district to Montenegro. This European "Concert" in favour of coercion, eventually producing a crisis which threatened to terminate in war, was happily put an end to by a diplomatic stroke—the Turkish Note of October 3. This Note declared "that as soon as the Powers shall have given Turkey formal assurances that the Naval Demonstration has been definitively abandoned, the Ottoman Government will evacuate Dulcigno, without, however, being held responsible should disorder ensue after the Turkish troops leave."

This sudden surrender is now well understood to be the first of the concessions necessary to satisfy the conditions of the Berlin Treaty; and so the battle between the will of Europe and the will of the Sultan—a desperate entanglement—ends, and the Note becomes a message of peace to the combined Powers.

DULCIGNO.

Dulcigno, which has lately become the engrossing object of European diplomacy, is a little Albanian seaport possessing two harbours. The one nearest the town is, however, small and shallow, and could not accommodate vessels larger than 200 tons. The other harbour—Val de Noce—can shelter the largest vessels. But the entrance is troublesome on account of the narrow channel, and so for some time past the steamers of the Austrian Lloyd have been accustomed to stop at San Giovanni di Medua, a proceeding which has had a dam-

aging effect on the prosperity of Dulcigno as the port of Scutari. In 1860 Dulcigno possessed 190 sea-going craft; at present it has not more than between eighty and ninety vessels, engaged exclusively in a coasting trade. Formerly, before the existence of a distinct Austrian fleet, Dulcigno was a notorious pirates' nest, which sheltered fully 400 corsair vessels. But from 1815, when cruisers first hoisted the Austrian flag, the number of these vessels rapidly diminished, and those which remained were transformed into trading craft. These, again, all but disappeared during the Greek war of Independence, being destroyed by the Greek corsairs. The old and new town of Dulcigno are divided from each other by the small harbour. The former, which includes the fortress, has not now more than eighty houses, half of which are uninhabited. The fortress, surrounded by walls of great strength, is no longer of any importance; modern artillery would command it from the heights of Moschura and Klemsa. The new town has about 400 houses. There are about 2,800 Mahometan inhabitants; twelve Servian families, reckoning about eighty individuals, belonging to the Orthodox Greek Church; eight Roman Catholic families, reckoning forty persons; and about a dozen huts inhabited by eighty gipsies. It is only since 1858 that Christians have been allowed to live in Dulcigno. The town, which is called by the Albanians Ulkun, by the Turks Olgun, by the Servians Ulshin, bore in ancient times the name of Ulcinium, and previously Olchinium. Pliny tells us it was founded by fugitives from Colchis, who gave it the name of Colchinium. After the division of the Empire, Dulcigno fell to the rulers of the East, and remained till the eleventh century subject to Constantinople. In 1180 the Servians obtained possession of Dulcigno, and held it until 1408; the Venetians then acquired it, and held it till 1571, when the Turks, under Achmet Capudan-pacha, took it. The Venetians made several attempts to regain Dulcigno, notably in 1718, under Schulenburg. From that date the Turks remained in undisputed occupation until 1878, when a Montenegrin force under Plamenac took it by storm. On that occasion 1,000 men of the Turkish garrison were killed and 500 taken prisoners. Three colours, five guns, and 1,500 muskets became the spoil of the victors, who had 180 men killed and 300 wounded. During the assault the town was set on fire and the greater part of it burnt down. Subsequently the Montenegrins endeavoured to conciliate the inhabitants of Dulcigno.

A letter from one of the crews of the English squadron, then off Dulcigno, thus describes the present aspect of that place:—"I despair of gaining the reader's credence for any description of Dulcigno. On a narrow but lofty crag, protected on either side by precipices, stand a dozen houses, red-roofed, gaping with holes where once were windows. In one corner rises a minaret. Stretched from either abyss, above and below, are the old Venetian walls, a world too wide for the shrunken town. It stands amidst a wilderness of hills, grey and bleak, picturesque truly, but bearing no trace of human inhabitant for miles and miles. Every man of our ship's company felt the

humour of the jest as we steamed below this wretched, lonely settlement which the united fleets of Europe were about to threaten."

It will be matter for rejoicing if the Montenegrin difficulty be settled amicably, whatever be the influence that secures such a result. The one question which interests the world at large in connection with Dulcigno is how far its cession removes the chances of an European war. The Hellenic question, of infinitely more gravity and consequences than the Montenegrin one, and which stands on a totally different footing, has yet to be grappled with. The King of Greece has, on opening the Greek Chamber, with a belligerent speech, called upon the Legislative Assembly to ratify the extensive naval and military preparations already made, and he stated that "the army will not be disbanded until the attainment of our object—namely, the establishment of a new order of things in the territory awarded to Greece."

This speech of King George addressed to his legislators and his people has had a somewhat startling effect; as it now appears probable that it must come to fighting after all: the one interesting question being the life-and-death struggle with Turkey.

HISTORICAL INDEX.

VOL. II.

Abdallah Pacha, Governor of Syria, formerly friend of Mehemet, but who had incurred his enmity through favouring the contraband trade in the commodities of Egypt, being summoned by Mehemet to restore his fellahs, replied that the Sultan's subjects might dwell indiscriminately in one or other part of his Empire; at this reply, Mehemet orders his son Ibrahim to march upon Syria at the head of 30,000 men, 182.

Abdul Ahmed, youngest son of Achmet III., succeeds his brother Mustapha III., is in the hands of the war party; the Turks thoroughly beaten by the Russians, the Treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji is dictated in four hours by Count Romanzoff, 75; the Sultan is carried off by a stroke of apoplexy, 90.

Abdul Aziz succeeds his brother Abdul Medjid as Sultan; his wish to alter the succession in favour of his eldest son instead of the eldest son of his late brother Medjid; the policy of Russia is favourable to the Sultan's wish in that respect, and the influence of General Ignatieff with the Grand Vizier gives the true key of Turkish politics, 216; his deposition and suicide, after a most profligate and mischievous reign of 16 years, 219.

Abdul Hamid, second son of Abdul Medjid, succeeds Murad V.; murderous attacks upon the Sultan's chief ministers; civil insurrection and foreign war render the opening of his reign one of peculiar trial to Turkey, 219; his address on the opening of the second session of the Turkish Parliament, 246; the Czar's telegram to the Sultan on the signature of the armistice (1878), 250.

Abdul Kerim, Turkish commander-in-chief on the Danube, maintains a masterly inactivity while 120,000 Russian soldiers pass quietly over to the Bulgarian side of the Danube, 228; under the pressure of popular indignation the Turkish Government dismisses Abdul Kerim and his treacherous or incapable patron, Riza Pacha, minister of war, 231.

Abdul Medjid, son of Mahmoud II., succeeds in his seventeenth year; already enervated by premature indulgence, the French wish the Osmanli to be transferred to Mehemet Ali; but the proposition is opposed by England and Russia; a lively agitation manifesting itself on the subject of the accession, it is promptly repressed by the Grand Vizier Khosrew, 190; the young Sultan is mostly guided by the counsels of England, ably conducted by Sir Stratford Canning, 195; the Czar's design against the "sick man," 203; takes the initiative in war by summoning Russia to evacuate the Principalities; on the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the Russians at Sinope, the Divan invokes the aid of the fleets of the Allied Powers in the Bosphorus; England and France order their fleets to enter the Black Sea to protect therein the flag and territory of Turkey, 205.

Achmet III., succeeds his deposed brother, Mustapha II.; the two periods dividing his reign—during the first, power passes from hand to hand by a rapid succession of Viziers, and, after a few years' repose, the Porte becomes engaged in a series of quarrels with Russia, Venice, and Austria; the second—wholly occupied with the

ministry of Ibrahim, which also gives employment to the military activity of the Turks in Persia, 2; the Sultan, immersed in the pleasures of the seraglio, refusing to mix himself up with the war in Hungary at the instigation of Louis XIV., the result of that neutrality to France is the loss of her sway over the Mediterranean, where she allows England to establish herself; Russia profits by the war of the Spanish succession to follow up her projects of conquest over the Ottoman Empire, 3; incited by Charles XII. of Sweden, the Sultan declares war against the Czar and imprisons Tolstoi, his ambassador, 7; endeavours to hasten the departure of Charles XII., both a troublesome and expensive guest, but the latter demands 600,000 dollars and an escort of 30,000 men; after a forbearance of many months, the Sultan prepares to use force; Charles's daily allowance withdrawn, and the Janissaries ordered to seize his person; after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, the King is secured and carried to Demotica, 10; is ultimately persuaded to return to his kingdom, the Sultan providing him with an escort to the frontiers; the Treaty of Adrianople enlarges the limits of the territory of Azof, restored to Turkey and completely shuts out from the Russians access to the Black Sea, 11; the Sultan declares war against the Venetians and the whole of the Morea is wrested from them, 12; the Turkish army defeated under the walls of Peterwardein by Prince Eugene with great loss, the victory chiefly ascribed to the use of heavy cavalry; the Prince pursues his triumphal course upon Ottoman territory and overthrows the new Grand Vizier, Khalil Pacha, 13; England offers her mediation and peace is signed at Passarowitz, 14; the Divan, recognizing the necessity of penetrating deeper into the policy of the Christian States, despatches an extraordinary embassy to France, which makes a great noise, but leads to no result, 16; to check the career of Russian conquest in Asia, the Sultan causes his troops to invade Armenia and Persian Georgia; the Turks make themselves masters of Hamadan, Erivan, Tebriz, and of all the Persian territory which Russia had abandoned to them; secret condition in Treaty of Vienna between Catherine I. and Austria to ruin the Ottoman Empire, 18; Ibrahim Pacha having irritated the Turks by his tergiversations, the Janissaries, incited to revolt, demand that the Grand Vizier, the Mufti, and the Capudan-pacha be given up to them, who are put to death, and the Sultan, without attempting a useless resistance, himself acknowledges as Padischa his nephew Mahmoud, 19.

Achmet Fewzi, Capudan-pacha, disobeys the Grand Vizier's orders to return to Constantinople, and determines to unite himself with Mehemet Ali, to whom he surrenders the Turkish Fleet; explains his conduct to Admiral Lalande, 191.

Aiguillon, Duke d', minister of Louis XV., desiring to persist in the projects of his predecessor, Choiseul, for the deliverance of Poland and the assistance of Turkey, prepares armaments, but the English Ministry declares to him that the slightest attempt in favour of the two menaced States would be regarded by them as a *casus belli*; thanks to these threats, Poland undergoes her first dismemberment, and England the disgrace of having covered the three spoilers of that kingdom, without any profit to herself; Aiguillon, then, wishing at least to protect Sweden, equally menaced by Russia, arms a flotilla at Brest; but Lord North threatens "that if a French fleet appeared in the Baltic, it would be followed by an English fleet;" thereupon the armament at Brest is suspended, but there was another in preparation at Toulon, and the English Cabinet declared to him that "the prohibition made to France against sending a fleet into the Baltic applied equally to the Mediterranean;" and the disarmament of the Toulon fleet was the immediate result, 70.

Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, his name invoked by the brothers Ypsilanti in favour of the Hetæria, 159; he proposes to the European Powers that the Greeks should be placed in the same relation to the Porte as the Danubian Principalities, 161; the Greeks declare that they would prefer a glorious death to the shameful fate prepared for them, 161.

Alexander II., son of Nicholas I.; his first words on his accession are

unfavourable to peace, 209; the conferences at Vienna proving without result, war in the Crimea is renewed, 210; encourages the troops at Sebastopol with his presence and weeps over the ruins of the great fortress, 212; having declared his intention of adhering in principle to the "ultimatum of the four guarantees," a Conference meets in Paris, where a peace is signed by which Russia loses both the domination of the Black Sea and the protectorate of the Eastern Christians, 214; the Emperor denies the existence of the so-called will said to be left by Peter the Great for his successors, 217; the conduct of Russia sets at defiance all rules of international law by indulging in outrageous and unblushing acts of war against Turkish territory, 219; his Imperial Manifesto of April 24th, 1877, declares war against the Porte, and orders his armies to cross the frontier, 223; Lord Derby declares Russia's isolated action to be a distinct violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1871, 224; his proclamation to the inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula shadows forth the future of Russianized Bulgaria, 229; Alexander is present when the Russians are defeated before Plevna on the Emperor's birthday, a stage being erected from which he might witness the triumph of his arms, 238; his telegram to the Sultan on the signature of the armistice, 250.

Ali Bey, the Mameluke, by the murder or exile of his enemies, makes himself master of Egypt and gains possession of Cairo; become depositary of all authority, he resolves to aggrandize himself still further; the suzerainty of Constantinople offends his pride, and he aspires to nothing less than the title of Sultan of Egypt; he drives out the Pacha, refuses the customary tribute and coins money with his own die, 53; the Divan, occupied with the affairs of Poland and the pretensions of Russia, devote attention only to the North; profiting by circumstances, Ali Bey pushes on further and further his enterprises and successes, 54.

Ali Pacha, of Janina, his birth and parentage; after, from the age of eighteen, leading the life of a brigand, tries his fortune by becoming the devoted servant of the Porte, 102; denounces successively three Pachas of Delvino and causes them to perish, and as a recompense obtains the title of Dervend Pacha (pacha of roads) and authority to raise 4,000 Albanians; overcomes the greater part of the rebel Beys, confiscates their properties and sends a portion of his booty to the Ottoman Ministers, and in return obtains the Pachalic of Janina; puts in execution the promise made to his dying mother of exterminating the people of Kardiki and Cormovo, who had offered her violence, by entirely destroying the latter town; on the Porte declaring war against France, he seizes upon Butrinto and Previsa, the latter place being pillaged and half its population massacred; for this the Porte makes him a Pacha of three tails, though growing uneasy at his usurpations, which he quiets by sending rich presents to the Divan, 103; authorized by the Porte, he compels the Suliotes to capitulate; the treaty stipulating that they should quit the country with arms and baggage, they scarcely begin their march ere they are attacked and massacred; is rewarded with the title of *remili-valid*, conferring command of the Turkish armies in absence of the Grand Vizier; collects 80,000 men and marches against the rebellious Krdschalis of Macedonia and Thrace, compels their submission, and the highways become free; profits by his power to amass riches by levying contributions upon almost every town; finding the Porte irritated at his success, he disbands his army, returns to Epirus, causes the wealthiest inhabitants to perish, and thus becomes absolute master of it, 104; England disgraces herself by consenting to sell Parga and its territory to the tyrant of Epirus, 145; he refuses to pay tribute to the Porte, and, in his stronghold of Janina, laughs at all the power of the Sultan; is declared *formandi* (excommunicated) and summoned to appear before the Sultan in forty days; strives in vain to interest England in his defence; his cause finally finds itself allied with the independence of Greece, 146; and the war of the Porte against Ali precipitates its movement; great preparations made by the Divan to overcome the rebel, Parga and Previsa attacked and seized by a Turkish fleet, and an army of 20,000 men, after ravaging Epirus, besieges

Janina, 148; in that great danger, Ali summons the Klepts and Suliotes to his defence, representing himself as patron of Greek liberties; a formidable league of all the *armatolis* is formed against the Turks; the emissaries of Ali and of the Hetæria traverse the whole of Greece and summon her to arms, 149; whilst keeping in check the best troops of the Porte in Janina, is summoned to a conference and poniarded by his enemies, who send his head to Constantinople, 154.

Alma, the battle of the, opens to the Allied armies, the way to Sebastopol, 206.

Andrassy Note, the, meets with failure, though accepted by the Porte as well as England, and the attention of Europe is arrested by the meeting of the three Emperors, 218.

Arbuthnot, Sir C., English ambassador, accuses the Porte of partiality for France, demands the expulsion of the French ambassador, and threatens an expedition against Constantinople; on refusal of the satisfaction demanded, embarks with all the English merchants on board an English frigate, 116.

Arbuthnot, Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles), English ambassador at the Porte, reproaches the Divan with abandoning its faithful allies in order to give itself up to the fatal influence of the revolutionary Government of France, and he, together with the Russian Minister, M. d'Italinski, demand the renewal of the alliance as well as the reinstatement of the deposed Voïvodes; the Divan endeavouring to drag out at length the negotiation, M. d'Italinski, demands his passports, whilst Mr. Arbuthnot, detained at Buyukdere by a slow fever, sends his second secretary, Wellesley Pole, to require a categorical answer; his cavalier demeanour and menacing words make a profound impression upon the Divan, which immediately orders the reinstalment of the Voïvodes, 113; the English ambassador remains alone to struggle against French influence, and seeing the tendencies of the Porte, no longer restrains his course of action; he boldly demands the expulsion of Sebastiani, the cession of Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, the giving up the Turkish fleet to England, as well as the forts and batteries of the Dardanelles, and threatens an expedition against Constantinople; the Divan indignantly rejecting these demands, Sir Charles, accompanied by all the English merchants, embarks on board the *Endymion* frigate, and suddenly Sir John Duckworth forces the passage of the Dardanelles, 117; and an envoy is sent with the ultimatum of Sir C. Arbuthnot; the Divan, believing all was lost, decided on submission to the conditions of the English, 118.

Augustus II., King of Poland; Russia, Austria, and Prussia foreseeing that at his death the Poles would seek to regenerate their country under the protection of France, bind themselves by a secret pact for the dismemberment of his kingdom; at his death the Poles elect Stanislas Leczinski, but the Russian and Austrian armies place the son of Augustus II. on the throne; France declares war against Austria, and solicits the Porte to avenge the insult of Russia, 21.

Austria, her present position and policy; her ambition and energies directed to the South and East; her Eastern policy as well as that of Germany is to keep available for future operations the territory now Turkish; the price she obtained for remaining neutral while Russia conquered Turkey was Bosnia, 258; in the East the interests of Austria, Germany, and England are alike, 259.

Balaclava, the battle of, in which nearly two-thirds of the Light Brigade are uselessly sacrificed, 207.

Baraïctar, Mustapha, Pacha of Rustchuk, marches upon Constantinople with an army devoted to his cause and determines to put an end to the tyranny of the Yamaks, his secret object being the re-establishment of Selim III.; forcibly takes the seals from the Grand Vizier, enters the capital and proclaims Selim, whose lifeless body he finds on the floor of the Seraglio, strangled by the orders of Mustapha IV., 131; causes Mustapha to be flung into the same prison Selim had tenanted, 132; is made Grand Vizier and his first act is to put to death the assassins of Selim III. and the favourites of Mustapha; causes insurrectionary Yamak chiefs to be strangled, and 174 women of Mustapha's harem to be sewn up in sacks and flung into the

Bosphorus; resumes the plans of reform attempted by Selim; offends the high functionaries by depriving them of the timars and appropriating them to his own profit; he perishes in a fire kindled by the revolted Janissaries, 134.

Beaconsfield, Viscount, one of the representatives of England at the Berlin Congress, demands the withdrawal of the Russian forces, but declines to assent to the retirement of the British fleet, and Count Schouvaloff objecting, the point is reserved, 253; steadily resisting the claims of Greece, M. Waddington and Count Corti were only able to induce Congress to advise the Porte to grant her the territory south of a line to be drawn from the Salambria to the Peneus, 257.

Berlin Memorandum, England refuses to submit to the dictation of the, and the Ministers of Russia and Germany find themselves checkmated, 216.

Bessarabia, Russia mobilises and masses a large army in (1877), 223.

Bismarck, Prince, elected President of the Berlin Congress, 253; the Congress advances towards peace because the Prince determines that peace should be, 255; the Treaty of Berlin bears traces of the determination of the Prince's resolve not to allow the interests of Austria to be jeopardized in the south-east of Europe, 258.

Bonac, Marquis de, French ambassador, solicits the Turks to continue hostilities against Austria, but the mediation of England brings about the Treaty of Passarowitz, 14.

Bonaparte, Napoleon, his project in conjunction with the French Directory to take part in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, 95; on signing the Treaty of Campo Formio, the expedition to Egypt is resolved upon; at the outset it proves disastrous to the French for their commerce, religious establishments, and relations with the Porte; brings for the first time, angrily in presence of each other Turks and Frenchmen; his invasion of Egypt gives rise to an alliance between Russia and the Porte, 97; if the attempt upon Egypt had roused the indignation of the Turks, his expulsion excited their contempt, 98; on the failure of his invasion, he sends Colonel Sebastiani on a mission to the Levant, the avowed object of which is to require of the English the evacuation of Alexandria, and to announce to the Pachas of Egypt and Syria the peace concluded with the Porte of 1802; the report of the mission is regarded as an avowal of the ambitious pretensions of Bonaparte towards the East, and it proves not one of the least causes of the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, 105; his reply to Lord Pelham's speech in Parliament relative to England keeping Malta, 106; dissatisfied with the conduct of the Porte, he refuses to avenge himself for it, preferring rather to weaken Austria; after the battle of Austerlitz, the Porte draws closer to France, recognises Napoleon as Emperor, and sends him an ambassador extraordinary, 107; sends aid to the Porte in order to discover the projects of Russia against it, 115; the downfall of Selim has the most disastrous effect upon the policy of Napoleon; he abandons the interests of the Porte by the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, 128; this abandonment of the Turks at Tilsit not one of the least causes which sent the great man to St. Helena, 129; Russia solicits Napoleon to put into execution the project of the partition of the Ottoman Empire, 135; perceiving the great error he has committed by the promises made at Tilsit, he eludes the demands of Alexander I., and even all idea of definitive partition of Turkey; resolved to make concessions touching Turkey, he proposes to Alexander an interview at Erfurt, and a secret convention is concluded there, 136; the English Ministry, obtaining knowledge of that treaty, in which Napoleon abandoned the true policy of France in order to satisfy his momentary interests, avails itself of it to renew its negotiations with the Porte, 137.

Bonneval, Count de, an adventurer, who deserts from the service of France and Germany and turns Musulman to become a general of bombardiers in the Turkish army, a pacha of two tails, and confidant of the Grand Vizier, and is, during fourteen years, the secret soul of the Ottoman policy in its relations with the European Cabinets; attempts to reform the Turkish army, but is arrested in his projects by the representations of Russia; becomes, by a spirit of intrigue, more hurtful than useful to Turkey and to

France, 22; sends to Versailles a project of alliance which offends Cardinal Fleury and is rejected, 23; receives a pension, with the promise of his return to France, 31; the negotiations of Bonneval for an alliance offensive and defensive between France, Prussia and Turkey having failed in spite of all his intrigues to renew it, and the Porte having signed a treaty of perpetual peace with Austria and Russia, irritated at the ill-success of his overtures he expires on the very day upon which he received a letter from Versailles authorizing him to return to France, 33.

Brune, General, French ambassador, from his Republican abruptness and passionate pride, unfit to conduct a negotiation in the corrupt Court of Constantinople, 106; his propositions are received with coldness, and he even meets with a refusal to recognize Napoleon by his new title of Emperor; he threatens to quit Constantinople, the Divan does not seek to detain him, and he takes his departure, 107.

Byron, Lord, assists the Greeks with money and arms and goes to Greece to give them his personal aid, and dies at Missolonghi, 156.

Cabakchy Oglou, elected chief of the Yamaks with the power of life or death; enters Constantinople at the head of 600 Yamaks; no opposition presenting itself to the proceedings of the conspirators, they are joined by many hundred Janissaries and sailors and form an encampment on the Atmeïdan; Cabakchy then reads a list of proscriptions upon which figure the counsellors and ministers of the Sultan; groups of conspirators are detached to execute those sentences, and seventeen heads of the principal dignitaries soon appear in a row before the chief of the revolt; the latter then inquires of the assemblage whether, in order to guarantee the future from the errors of the past, the Sultan ought to retain power; the rebels reply in the negative, 126; the Mufti acquiescing in the Sultan's dethronement, the multitude shout with acclamation for Sultan Mustapha; Selim resigns himself to the inevitable and takes the place of his successor in the Old Seraglio, 127.

Canning, Mr. Stratford (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), English ambassador, offers to the Porte the mediation of the signatory Powers of the protocol, having in view the reconciling the Greeks with the Porte, and of putting an end to the struggle of which the Archipelago was the theatre; to which the Reis-Effendi replies that "His Highness would never admit of intervention between it and its rayahs, and that in future it would no longer reply to propositions of that kind;" the capture of the citadel of Athens was the result of that answer, 162; after the Treaty which terminated the quarrel between the Porte and Mehemet Ali, the young Sultan Abdul Medjid is mostly guided by the councils of England, ably conducted by Sir Stratford Canning, her ambassador at Constantinople, 195.

Cantemir, Demetrius, Hospodar of Wallachia, engages to assist Peter *the Great* on condition that the Czar should aid him in rendering his sovereignty hereditary; induces the Russians to cross the Pruth, only to find themselves overtaken and hemmed in by the Turkish army, 7.

Capodistrias governs the Greek Kingdom in the interest of Russia; has to contend with conspiracies and insurrections; the little Greek fleet burnt by Miaulis, to prevent the former using it in the Russian interest, and is shortly after assassinated, 177.

Caratheodori Pacha, announces at the Berlin Congress that the Porte accepts the principle of the occupation by Austria of Bosnia and the Herzegovina in the interests of European peace, and would arrange the details with Austria, 256.

Catherine I., Empress of Russia, consort of Peter *the Great;* her humble origin and equivocal antecedents; secretly married to the Czar before he sets out for the campaign against the Turks (1707); her skill in the penetration of character; gains an entire empire over the Czar; extricates him from the imminent peril in which he was placed when hemmed in by the Turks under Mahommed Baltadschi, 8; after Peter's death seeks, in a close alliance with Austria, the support Russia needed to ruin the Ottoman Empire: the Treaty of Vienna concluded (1725), 18.

Catherine II., Empress of Russia; after the murder of Peter III., her husband, the ambitious designs of the Empress force the Ottoman Porte to quit its inaction and draw closer its alliance with France, 47; she compels the Poles to elect Stanislas Poniatowski as king, and imposes a code of laws upon Poland destined to perpetuate its anarchy, 48; marks out some of the Turkish provinces for her future prey, and bribes the Divan with large sums, 49; infamously deceives Mustapha III. in the affairs of Poland; Poniatowski, despite the promises of the Czarina is imposed upon the Poles by Russian bayonets, 49; her agents, by means of the religious propaganda, prepare the way for the Russian invasion in the Greek provinces of Turkey, 50; the Muscovite intrigues only end by compromising the Christians, 51; after the Russian massacre at Balta, the Russian ambassador Obreskoff refusing to sign a declaration importing that Russia bound herself to abstain from all attempts against Polish liberty, he is imprisoned, and war declared by the Porte, 59; despatches a fleet from the Baltic to effect a rising in the Morea, but the whole business degenerates into a marauding expedition; the Russians destroy the Turkish fleet, a victory wholly due to British officers, 62; the Czarina sends Frederick II. a project for the partition of the Turkish Empire, and talk is rife at her Court of going to Constantinople, 68; in the Crimea the Ottoman domination is completely reversed by her successes, 70; her insolent ultimatum to the Porte rejected by the Divan; her troops are defeated on the Danube, and basely avenge their failure by a massacre at Basaradschik of the women, old men and children, 71; Heraclius, Prince of Georgia, is sold to Catherine, and she dominates in Moldavia and Wallachia, 73; the Treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji in Article 7 opens a wide door to Russian usurpation; the Protectorate in favour of the New Church at Constantinople the origin of the Crimean War of 1854; the Czarina intrigues in Moldavia and Wallachia with the view of rendering them independent, 79; she averts the attention of Europe from the true aim of her policy by her negotiations for the freedom of the seas, while continuing secretly her enterprises against Turkey she becomes a close ally of the Emperor Joseph II., with whom she projects a partition of the Ottoman Empire, 80; Ibrahim Gheral raised to the dignity of Khan of the Crimea in order to be the instrument, shortly becomes the victim of Catherine's ambition, 82; she attempts in a manifesto to justify that sanguinary usurpation of the Crimea, 83; Russia thus acquires the sovereignty of the Crimea and of the Kouban, fresh rights over the Black Sea, and other advantages calculated to bring about the future dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; the Empress takes a step towards realising her project of a new Eastern Empire—a new Greek kingdom on the coasts of the Black Sea; Kherson erected in the midst of a desert as its capital, 84; in her efforts to drive the Turks from Europe, she makes an advantageous commercial treaty with France, 85; the creation of a formidable fleet at Kherson and Sebastopol unveils her designs; insolently demands the dismissal of pachas and officials who displease her; makes a pompous progress to the Crimea, where she meets her ally, Joseph II., and discusses the proximate establishment of the republics of Sparta and Athens; scared from continuing her journey to Kinburn by a Turkish fleet in the Liman; her minister at Constantinople is imprisoned, and war declared against Russia, 86; she refuses to accede to the Congress of Reichenbach, or to accept the mediation of Russia with the Porte, 92; Great Britain demands for Turkey the strict *status quo ante*, and in pursuance of such declaration equips a large fleet destined for the Baltic; but after lengthy negotiations, preliminaries are signed at Galatz between Prince Repnin and the Grand Vizier, 93.

Charles XII., King of Sweden, tries by a terrible war to stifle Russia by giving new life to Poland; reckoning upon the futile promise of Turkey that the Khan of the Crimea would march to his assistance, he adventures into the interior of Russia with a small army, is conquered at Pultowa, seeks refuge in Turkey, establishes himself at Bender, and thence intrigues with the Divan to draw Ach-

met III. into the war against Peter *the Great*, 5; summoned by Poniatowski to behold the destruction of his adversary the Czar, to his rage and mortification, he arrives only in time to see the last retreating ranks of the Russian rear-guard, 9; incensed against the Grand Vizier Baltadschi, he and Poniatowski, with the Khan of Tartary, effect his ruin; Charles and the French ambassador strive in vain to compass the abrogation of the Treaty of Falksen; the Sultan endeavours to hasten the departure of the King, both a troublesome and expensive guest, and after a forbearance of many months, Achmet prepares to use force; Charles's daily allowance is withdrawn, and the Janissaries ordered to seize his person; after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict in his little camp at Varnitza, until more than once wounded, the King is secured and carried to Demotica, 10; is ultimately persuaded to return to his kingdom; his extraordinary rapid journey from Turkey to join his army in North Germany, 11.

Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a cousin of the King of Prussia, chosen Hospodar of Roumania, on the abdication of Prince Couza, 215; appointed commander of the Russo-Roumanian army, 234.

Choiseul, Duke de, Minister of Louis XV., protests against the election of Poniatowski and the intervention of Russia in the affairs of Poland; finds occasion for a renewal of the struggle with England in her troubles with North America, 48; incites the Porte to afford active succour to the Poles, promising it the neutrality of Austria, 49; endeavours, but without effect, to persuade Louis XV. to sink the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, 61; orders the French ambassador at the Porte to pass from active hostility against Russia to inertness without discouraging the Turks from efforts on behalf of the Poles, 66; disposed to intervene actively in the Northern War, if he could occupy the British enemy in America, determines to await events; sends the insurgent Poles an aid of 1,500 men, engineers, officers, and subsidies; finally, prepares in Sweden the revolution that should remove that country from Russian influence, 67; at the moment when the dismemberment of Poland was determined upon by the Northern Powers, the only man who could have prevented their success—Choiseul—falls from power, disgraced and banished from Court, chiefly through the influence of Madame du Barry, a new mistress of Louis XV., 68; one of the Duke's chief objects during the whole course of his administration was to raise a navy which might be equal to contend with England; he longed to retaliate all the maritime disgraces which France had suffered during the Seven Years War, and was prepared to foment the discontents already beginning to spring up between England and her American colonies, 68.

Conference, the, at Constantinople (1866), the scheme of reform agreed to by the European diplomatists, including Lord Salisbury and General Ignatieff, when submitted to the Sultan is rejected, 297.

Czerni-Georges, see Petrovitch Georges.

Damad Ali, Grand Vizier of Achmet III., makes himself master of Corinth, Napoli di Romania, Modon, Malvoisia and the whole of the Morea in a single campaign, 12; gives battle to Prince Eugene under the walls of Peterwardein and after losing 6,000 men, 114 cannon and 500 standards, seeks death by rushing into the mêlée, 13.

Derby, the Earl of, justifies the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum, 220; sends the Russian Cabinet (May 1, 1877) an outspoken despatch expressing the "deep regret" of the British Government at the independent and unwarrantable course that Russia, leaving the European concert, had suddenly adopted, 224.

Descorches, ex-Marquis de Sainte Croix, his mission to persuade the Porte to persist in its neutrality during the wars of the French Revolution, 95.

Diebitch, commander of the Russian army in the compaign of 1829, advances against Silistria, but the Danube overflowing presents an obstacle to the march; leaves the charge of the siege of Silistria to General Krassofsky and goes to the succour of General Roth with whom he forms a junction; obtains at Kaleschwa a sanguinary victory over Reschid Pacha, who re-enters Schumla, 173;

twenty days afterwards Silistria surrenders unconditionally; then Diebitch having secured his rear and left a sufficient corps before Schumla to restrain the Turks, turns that formidable position, passes the Kamtchik, then the defile of Nadir Derbend, in the Eastern Balkans, and reaches as far as Bourgas; he continues his march and arrives at Adrianople, which surrenders without firing a shot; the Russian vanguard immediately occupies Kirk-kilissia and holds by that the second route to Constantinople; then Diebitch causes Demotica, Ipsala and Enos to be occupied so that his left leaning on the Black Sea and his right upon the Archipelago, he could, in a few hours, occupy the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and enter Constantinople, 174; the Porte terrified at the march of Diebitch send commissaries to treat for peace, and before all, for an armistice; this latter demand being welcomed, the Czar consents to sign the Treaty of Adrianople, 175.

Dolgorouki, Prince, the Russian general, enters as conqueror at Perekop, at Taman, Kaffa, Kertch and Yenikali; proclaims the independence of the peninsula under the Russian suzerainty, and installs Scherin Bey in quality of Khan of the Crimea, 70.

Duckworth, Admiral Sir John, forces the passage of the Dardanelles with his fleet; seizes and burns a Turkish squadron at Gallipoli; throwing Constantinople into consternation, 117; demands the immediate dismissal of the French ambassador, renewal of the alliance with England and Russia, free passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles and surrender of the Turkish navy, 118; but suffers himself to be amused by negotiations and retreats from Constantinople not without some loss, 121; attempts a *coup de main* upon Egypt and takes Alexandria, but fails in two attempts upon Rosetta, 123.

Echref, cousin of Mir Mahmoud, Shah of Persia, causes him to be strangled and seizes upon his power, 18; is recognized by the Porte as legitimate sovereign of Iran, but speedily overthrown by Nadir, lieutenant of his rival Shah Thamas, 19.

Elphinstone, Admiral, and other English officers in the Russian fleet gain a victory over the Turks off Chios, of which all the honours and emoluments fall to Count Alexis Orloff, 62.

Emin, Mohammed, Grand Vizier of Mustapha III., accused of conducting the war against the Russians with too little vigour, is recalled and beheaded at Adrianople, 60.

Eugene, Prince, of Savoy, exhorts the Emperor of Germany to aid the Venetians in a war against the Turks for having violated the Treaty of Carlowitz, 12; enters Hungary at the head of 70,000 men; is attacked by the Grand Vizier in his camp before Peterwardein; the Prince offers him battle, in which the Vizier is slain and the Turks utterly routed with great loss; the fruits of the victory—the surrender of Temesvar, and even Wallachia declares for the Emperor; defeats the new Grand Vizier, Khalil Pacha, and enters Belgrade, 13; thereupon ensues the Peace of Passarowitz, 14.

Fleury, Cardinal, Minister of Louis XV., his intention of profiting by the diversions which Turkey should undertake against Austria in favour of Poland, not perceiving that the elevation of Russia has changed the necessities of French policy; he therefore orders Villeneuve only to incite the Turks to enter Hungary; takes offence at Bonneval for negotiating a project of alliance he had not ordered; Charles VI. (Germany), seeing his ruin foreboded in the alliance between France and the Porte, makes Fleury very advantageous offers of peace, and the Treaty of Vienna is concluded (1735), 23; points out to the English Minister the interest Great Britain had in arresting the usurpations of the Russians; directs Villeneuve to make every exertion to procure peace for the Turks, to prevent Russia from obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea, 24.

George I. (England) enters into an alliance with the Regent Duke of Orleans to constrain the King of Spain and the Emperor to respect the Stipulations of Utrecht, and England offers her mediation to the Divan; peace is signed at Passarowitz, 14.

Gortschakoff, Prince, commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, issues a proclamation on its crossing the Pruth against any intention of conquest in making offensive war upon the Porte, 204; announces to the army assembled at Sebastopol that "he would not voluntarily abandon that country where St. Vladimir had received baptism," 212; in justification of Russia declaring war against the Porte (1877) gives expression to the views of the Russian Cabinet regarding Turkey's refusal to acknowledge the joint Protocol of March 1, and the consequences of that refusal, 224; represents Russia at the Berlin Congress, 253.

Gourko, Russian general, passes the Balkans with a flying column; takes Tirnova, capital of the ancient Bulgarian Kingdom, 229; his expedition into Roumelia, 230; his force defeated at Eski-Sagrà by Suleiman Pacha, 233; carries, after a sharp contest, the fortified position of Taschkesen in the valley of Sophia; his wonderful march over the Etropol Balkans, 248; drives Suleiman Pacha over the Despoto Dagh and down to Kavola, whilst the panic in Constantinople is described as deplorable, 249.

Greek Church, policy and pretensions of the; the Russian Church a last and pitiful abortion of the siege of Byzantium; her pretension of inheriting the religious power of Constantinople and of re-establishing the Eastern Empire to the profit of the Czars of Moscow, 4.

Hamsa Pacha, Grand Vizier, summons the Russian ambassador, Obreskoff, and reproaches him for the massacre of Balta; cites him to sign a declaration binding Russia to abstain from all attempts against Polish liberty; on his refusal he is imprisoned in the Seven Towers, 59.

Hetæria, Secret Society of the, has its birth upon the coasts and islands of Greece; originally founded by three obscure Greeks for the propagation of Christian instruction and religious publications among the populations of Greece; invites Czerni-Georges to return to Servia, who, on his arrival at Smederova, is murdered at the instigation of Milosch; in 1820, the hetærist propaganda assumes the gravest proportions and tends almost overtly to the emancipation of Greece, 148; for the Hetæria, the Pacha of Janina was the means of revolt; for the Pacha, the Hetæria was the means of resistance—their common object to destroy the authority of the Sultan, 149; intrigues of the Society with Russia, 150.

Holy Places, the affair of the, 41, 179; discussions relative to, 200.

Hornby, Vice-Admiral, on the cessation of hostilities between Russia and Turkey upon the signature at Adrianople of an armistice, a portion of the British fleet is at once ordered to leave Besika Bay and proceed to Constantinople for the protection of British residents there, that city being practically, it was telegraphed, in the power of the Russians, 250; after entering the Bosphorus, the Admiral withdraws to Besika Bay on receiving notice from the Governor of the Dardanelles that he was without instructions and could only allow the fleet to pass under protest, 251.

Ibrahim Pacha, adopted son of Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt, on the demand of Mahmoud for aid against the insurgent Greeks, sets out with an army and fleet for Candia, which he easily conquers; the Egyptian fleet having joined the Turkish fleet, the combined force is attacked in the roadstead of Halycarnassus by the Greek fleet, defeated, harassed, pursued and finally forced to return to Alexandria; profiting by the dissensions of the Greeks, Ibrahim lands at Modon with 12,000 regulars, defeats the Greeks and takes Navarino, Tripolitza and all the places of the interior, failing only before Nauplia, skilfully defended by Ypsilanti; the Greeks put to the rout by the manœuvres of the Pacha and the solidity of his troops, despair of their cause—three important places alone remaining to them, Athens, Nauplia and Missolonghi, 157; summoned to aid Reschid Pasha besieging Missolonghi, he joins him with 10,000 men and an immense material; attempts to carry the place by a *coup de main*, but, being repulsed with loss, he isolates it from all succour and reducing the besieged to the last extremities they decide to abandon the town; in their retreat they are surrounded

by Ibrahim and out of the 15,000 inhabitants only 1,800 escape slaughter, 158; receives at Navarino communication of the Treaty of London recently signed and notification to cease hostilities, 163; having violated an armistice, and to arrest the horrible atrocities he was committing, the allied fleets of England, France and Russia enter the harbour of Navarino and almost totally destroy the Turco-Egyptian fleet, 164; at the order of Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim marches against Abdallah Pacha, of Syria, at the head of 30,000 men, 182; in spite of the Sultan's order to renounce the enterprise, it went on and Gaza, Jaffa, and Kaïffa rapidly fall into Ibrahim's hands, who next besieges St. Jean d'Acre, wherein Abdallah shut up defends himself courageously, but, reduced to the last extremity, capitulates and is sent to Egypt, where the conqueror treats him generously; the victor next marches upon Damascus, defeats a corps under its walls and enters that city without obstacle; the Pacha of Aleppo with 20,000 men attempts vainly to stop him at Homs and loses his tents, twenty cannons and 5,000 men; the Sultan sends a fresh army of 36,000 men under Hussein Pacha against him; he attacks Hussein at Beïlan and obtains so decisive a victory that the latter could scarcely rally 10,000 men; Ibrahim having crossed the Taurus and encamped at Karamania, the Sultan's army in Asia under Reschid Mehemet Pacha, 60,000 strong attacks him near Konieh and is entirely routed; in the sequel the whole corps of the Turkish army joins the Egyptians and everything appears to allow of Mehemet Ali marching upon Constantinople and overthrowing Mahmoud there, 183; European diplomacy is taken unawares by the march of the victorious Ibrahim, and M. de Varennes, representing France, urges him to stop and engages the Porte to make concessions; he advances, however, as far as Brousa; Mahmoud becomes terrified and despatches Halil Pacha into Egypt, but the requirements of the Pacha increase and he desires that the district of Adana should be ceded to him with Syria, 185; meanwhile Mehemet orders Ibrahim to march and only halt before the complete acceptance of the conditions indicated; he immediately directs his march towards Scutari, and Mahmoud summons to his aid the Russians who land 10,000 men in that city; the ambassadors of France and England having demonstrated to the Sultan the perils of that intervention, they determine him to accord Mehemet Ali the pachalics of Aleppo and Damascus and he consents to the cession of Adana and grants an amnesty to all compromised during Ibrahim's expedition, 186; insurrectionary movements manifest themselves in Syria against the despotic administration of Ibrahim and a vast conspiracy threatens to exterminate all who belong to it, and the Hedjaz and Yemen rise; the Sultan, thinking the moment opportune to attack his vassal, sends a *corps d'armée* into Syria, 188; Mahmoud, in a Divan, proclaims Mehemet and Ibrahim *fermanlis* (excommunicated), whereupon Mehemet directs his con to march against the Ottomans and crush them; his successful campaign in Syria; a battle is fought at Nezib and the Turks are thoroughly put to the rout; marching upon Aintab, the victor is met by an aide-de-camp of Marshal Soult, at whose entreaties and representations he consents not to occupy Konieh, but contents himself with Marash and Orfa, 190; the four coalesced Powers having signed a treaty with the Porte, by which the Sultan accorded to Mehemet the hereditary possession of Egypt, he is summoned by England to evacuate Syria, and upon his refusal Beyrout is attacked by the English fleet; Solyman Pacha evacuates Beyrout and joins Ibrahim, who thereupon finds desertion spread through his army, while the bombardment and destruction of St. Jean d'Acre effect the ruin of Mehemet's hopes; the abrupt evacuation proves calamitous to Syria, which falls immediately into anarchy—proving that the so-much-decried authority of the viceroy (Ibrahim) was not too heavy for that country, 194.

Ignatieff, Russian General, succeeds in establishing great influence over the councils of the Sultan Abdul Aziz, 216; the scheme of reform agreed to by the diplomatists in the conference at Constantinople, including Lord

Salisbury and General Ignatieff, rejected by the Sultan Abdul Hamid, 220; the mission of Ignatieff "to furnish explanations as to the real views of the Russian Cabinet and to facilitate a peaceful solution," 222.

Inkermann, the battle of, in which the Russians with very superior forces are repulsed with dreadful loss, 207.

Ismail, taken by assault by Souvaroff; the Russians stain their victory by a horrible butchery, 92.

Janissaries, destruction of the, by Mahmoud II., 166.

Jeddah, an outburst of fanatical fury at; ample reparation exacted for the murder of Christians, 214.

Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, becomes a close ally of Catherine II. of Russia, with whom he projects a partition of the Ottoman Empire, 80; the dangers of the policy of Joseph II. exposed by Vergennes, 81; meets in the Crimea the Empress Catherine with whom he discusses obsequiously the proximate re-establishment of the republics of Athens and Sparta; pays assiduous court to her and attends her levée daily as a private person, 86; his failure in a campaign against the Turks; two fruitless attempts to surprise Belgrade throw a shade over Austrian policy; the Grand Vizier breaks the Austrian centre and drives back the Germans as far as Lugos, and the Emperor returns to Vienna ill and dispirited, 89; his death fortunately modifies the policy of Austria, 91.

Khedive, the, his reception at the European Courts gives offence to the Sultan, 215.

Khalil Pacha, Seraskier, crosses the Danube and advances to the succour of Bender menaced by 60,000 Russians and Calmucks led by Count Panin; the Tartars of the Crimea repulse a strong division of that army, pass the Dneister and effect their junction with Khalil; Romanzoff hastens up, and, although almost surrounded by 50,000 Tartars and 100,000 Turks, hazards a battle near Cahoul and obtains a sanguinary victory, 64.

Kourschid Pacha, after blockading Ali Pacha in Janina, directs an Albanian corps against Tripolitza which is defeated and put to the rout, 153; goes to the succour of Drem Ali in the Acro-Corinth and is completely defeated by Odysseus in the defile of Davi, and in despair commits suicide, 154.

Krim Gheral, Khan of the Crimea; the Russians having redoubled their atrocities in Poland, a trick of the Tartar Khan brings about the violation of the Ottoman territory, 58; he commences the campaign by an incursion into New Servia, and after committing most terrible devastations returns to Bender with 35,000 prisoners; dying shortly afterwards is replaced by Dewlet Gheral, 60.

Kupruli Hussein, surnamed *the Wise*, Grand Vizier of Mustapha II., after the Peace of Carlowitz comprehends the necessity of reforms, and follows, with regard to the Christians, the example of Kupruli *the Virtuous*; strives to recall the Moslems to the study and practice of their religion; re-establishes order in the finances and undertakes works of great public utility, 1; he succumbs under the intrigues of the Mufti, is deposed from power and dies a few days after his disgrace, 2.

Lazaroff, Russian General, outflanks the right of the Turkish army in Armenia and afterwards assaults the rear; twenty-six battalions, with seven pachas surrender with thirty-six guns; the stronghold on Mount Acohas is taken and the army cut in two, the spoil including thousands of tents and standards and immense quantities of ammunition, 236.

Leczinski Stanislas, elected King by the Poles, but displaced by Russia and Austria in favour of a son of Augustus II.; France promises aid to the Poles; declares war against Austria, 21; and incites the Porte to avenge the insult Russia had given her; the Russians finding themselves masters of Poland drive out Stanislas therefrom, 22.

Loudon, Russian General, chief hero of the campaign of 1789, takes the suburbs of Belgrade by storm and compels Osman Pacha and the Turkish garrison to capitulate, Semendria and Passarowitz surrendering a few days after, 91.

Mahmoud I., Sultan of Turkey, nephew of Achmet III., displaces his uncle by a revolt of the Janissaries, but the capital and empire remain for some time in the power of Patrona Khalil, a common Janissary, until assassinated under the eyes of the Sultan and his ministers, 19; his character and reign of twenty-four years, 38.

Mahmoud II., half brother of Mustapha IV., succeeds on the deposition of that Sultan by the insurrection of Bairactar; determines that reform shall triumph, but advances with the greatest reserve and profound dissimulation, 133; during a conflagration caused by the revolted Janissaries, the rebels demand his deposition and the heads of his defenders; the Sultan, after effecting the escape of his chief ministers, causes his brother, Mustapha IV., to be strangled, and thus becomes inviolable as being the last descendant of Othman, 135; issues a *hatti-cherif* for the reform of the Janissaries, whereupon they rise and plunder the palaces of three grandees, authors of the decree, 168; the Sultan, at the head of the bands remaining faithful to him, surrounds some 20,000 Janissaries, causes great numbers to be shot down by his artillery and the greater part to be executed, and the corps is entirely abolished, 169; the institution of the Dervishes also struck down with the same blow and their three principal chiefs seized and executed; at the end of the year Mahmoud has 20,000 men drilled in the European manner, 170; after Ibrahim's successful campaign in Syria, the Sultan, trembling for Constantinople itself, implores the aid of Russia, as well as of England and France; Mehemet submits to mediation, by which Syria is assigned to him; the Sultan, indignant at being thus treated by the Western Powers, throws himself into the arms of Russia, and signs the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 187; encouraged by England and Russia, attempts to recover Syria, but the Turkish army is totally defeated at Nezib; the Sultan expires a few days after, leaving his empire to his son, Abdul Medjid, then seventeen years old, 190.

Mahmoud Pacha, Grand Vizier, falls into disgrace and is made to resign office in favour of Midhat Pacha, Governor of Bagdad, 216.

Mahommed Effendi, his embassy to the Court of Louis XV.; the pretext of his mission is to present to the King, with gifts from the Sultan, firmans which gave validity to the demands of France concerning the Holy Places, 16; the envoy meets with a gracious reception; the embassy makes a great noise, but leads to no result, 17.

Mavrocordato, a Phanariote of ancient family becomes President of an executive council at Epidaurus and eventually the chief leader of the revolution in Greece; is defeated at Peta, 154.

Maseppa, Hetman of the Cossacks, his extradition demanded of the Porte by Peter the Great for having delivered up the Ukraine to Charles XII. of Sweden, 5.

Mehemet Ali, an Albanian Chief, allies himself with the Mamelukes and opens to them the gates of Cairo; then placing himself in the pay of Osman Bardissy, the Mameluke Bey, he marches against Kosrew Pacha, drives him into Damietta, upon which he seizes, takes him prisoner and sends him to Cairo; a division arising among the Mamelukes, Mehemet profits by their discords to augment his troops and his popularity among the Egyptians; Kourschid Pacha succeeds Bardissy as Governor of Cairo and strives to disembarrass himself of the Albanians, but the populace depose Kourschid and nominate in his place Mehemet as Pacha of Egypt; 5,000 English under General Fraser having seized upon Alexandria Mehemet invests the place and forces Fraser to capitulate, 123; another instance in which the strength of England was frittered away, which might have been better employed in another quarter, 124; Mehemet weakens the Ottoman Empire by the power he was acquiring in Egypt, 143; is ordered by Mahmoud II. to deliver the Holy Cities from the possession of the fanatical Wahabites, 144; resolved to put an end to the domination of the Mamelukes, he treacherously invites the most powerful among them to leave their retreats and come to Cairo to be present at the investiture of his son as commander of the expedition into Arabia; the Beys come without dis-

trust, but on entering the interior court of the palace are received with a discharge of musketry from every window, and all perish in that snare; thus ends the domination of the Mamelukes in Egypt, and that of Mehemet Ali begins, 141; a *hatti-cherif* invests him with the pachalics of the Morea and Candia and at the same time the Sultan demands his aid against the insurgent Greeks; the Viceroy responds with eagerness, and his son Ibrahim sets out with an army and fleet for Candia, which he easily conquers; the Egyptian fleet having joined the Turkish fleet they are attacked by the Greek fleet, defeated, harassed, pursued, and finally forced to return to Alexandria; profiting by the internal dissensions of the Greeks and cherishing hopes of the whole Turkish succession, the Viceroy despatches an army to the Morea under Ibrahim, who defeats the Greeks and Turks at Navarino, Tripolitza, and other places of the interior, 157; Missolonghi taken after a six months' siege by Ibrahim, 158; not content with Candia as a reward of his services to the Sultan in Greece, he covets Syria; despatches an army thither under Ibrahim, who captures St. Jean d'Acre, Damascus and Tripoli and occupies great part of the country; defeats a large army under Hussein Pacha, and enters Aleppo and Antioch; Mehemet demands the government of the four pachalics of Syria, but Mahmoud would not listen to it and sends the Grand Vizier Reschid Pacha to oppose his progress, who is defeated and captured at Konieh, 183; does not dream of dethroning the Padischa and founding a new dynasty, but wishes for a greater pachalic and liberty of governing after his own fashion, independence by means of tribute, 184; the requirements of the Pacha increase and he desires that the district of Adana should be ceded to him with Syria; certain conditions proposed by England and France, accompanied by the threat of an attack by their combined fleets, are rejected by Mehemet, 185; the sense in which he makes overtures to France and Russia; having ordered Ibrahim to march towards Scutari, Mahmoud summons the Russians to his aid, but the ambassadors of England and France demonstrating to the Sultan the perils of that intervention, they determine him to accede to a portion of the Viceroy's demands and to accord him the Pachalics of Aleppo and Damascus; he afterwards consents to the cession of Adana and grants an indemnity to all compromised during Ibrahim's expedition; grievous results of this most unlucky treaty, 186; the quarrel between the Sultan and the Pacha is only adjourned; insurrectionary movements having manifested themselves in Syria against the despotism of Ibrahim, Mahmoud thinks the moment opportune to attack his vassal and a *corps d'armée* under Reschid Pacha advances towards Syria, 188; the two armies remain in observation of one another; Mehemet accuses Russia of urging the Sultan into making war, and proposes to France and England to form with him a coalition against the Czar to save the Ottoman Empire from an inevitable conquest; that proposition is rejected, but European diplomacy endeavours to reconcile the two rivals; Mehemet demands to transmit hereditarily to his family his power, and his pachalics; Mahmoud consents to accord him hereditary right for Egypt and even for Acre and Tripoli, but demands the restitution of Adana and the rest of Syria; Mehemet persists, ceases to pay tribute and makes levies, which he concentrates in Syria, 189; the Sultan proclaims him and his son *fermanlis* (excommunicated); a battle is fought at Nezib in which Ibrahim puts the Turks thoroughly to the rout, 190; on the death of Mahmoud II. the French wish the Osmanli sceptre to be transferred to Mehemet but that is opposed by England and Russia; Achmet Fewzi, the Capudan-pacha, surrenders the fleet to the rebellious Viceroy, who, surprised at this defection, resolves to reap advantage from it and refuses to restore it until he should have obtained the hereditary right of his governments and the dismissal of Khosrew Pacha, the Grand Vizier, 191; the Viceroy refuses to open to England a route to India by the Red Sea or the Euphrates; Abdul Medjid grants Mehemet the hereditary possession of Egypt and tenure for life of the pachalic of St. Jean d'Acre on certain conditions, 193; the coalesced Powers threaten to depose him; he is sum-

moned by England to evacuate Syria and, on his refusal, Beyrout is attacked by an English fleet; Solyman Pacha abandons that place and joins Ibrahim: the allies besiege St. Jean d'Acre, and in a few hours the arsenal explodes, killing one half of the garrison and destroying the town, which proves the ruin of Mehemet's hopes; Admiral Napier wrests from him a treaty which reduces him to the possession of Egypt; he evacuates Syria, Arabia and Candia and gives up the Ottoman Fleet, 194; the quarrel is terminated by a treaty concluded between the four Powers and France (1841), which guaranteed the closing of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to ships of war of all nations, 195; the death of Mehemet in his 80th year, 199.

Mehemet Ali, a renegade of North German birth, is appointed to command the Eastern army of the Sultan (Abdul Hamid) on the Danube, 231; forced to retreat from Orkhanie to Kamarli, where, however, the Russians are defeated, 238; represents Turkey at the Berlin Congress, 254.

Melikoff, Loris, Russian general. The Grand Duke Michael refuses any longer to carry out Melikoff's strategy, 230; one of the greatest and most difficult of military feats accomplished under him at the siege and capture of Kars, 237.

Menschikoff, Prince, sent by Nicholas, Emperor, of Russia on a special embassy to Constantinople, to demand the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey; he delivers his message to the Divan with marks of the greatest contempt, demanding an answer in five days; having renewed his threatening demands, declares his mission terminated, and after handing in an *ultimatum*, departs with a significant threat, 202; is defeated at the battle of the Alma with the loss of 8,000 men, 206.

Midhat Pacha, governor of Bagdad, represents Austrian influence; succeeds Mahmoud Pacha as Grand Vizier; the reason of his short sway, 216; prepares a Constitution consisting of comprehensive clauses; his sudden dismissal and exile quickly follow the breaking up of the Conference at Constantinople (1877), 219.

Montecuculli, commander-in-chief of the army of Leopold I. of Austria, suggests to him an alliance with Russia, which for the first time causes the barbarians of the North to enter into the affairs of Europe, 5.

Munnich, general-in-chief of the Russian forces, seizes upon Ocsakof and Kinburn, penetrates into the Steppes, but compelled to retreat with great loss; his despatch stating that "the Christians of the Ottoman Empire look upon the Czarina as their legitimate sovereign; we must profit by their enthusiasm and their hopes, and march on Constantinople," 26; his career arrested by the Peace of Belgrade, 27.

Murad V., his brief ten days' reign, 219.

Mustapha II., after the death of Kupruli Hussein, an insurrection having broken out, the troops fraternize with the rebels and depose the Sultan, who cedes the throne to his brother, Achmet III., 2.

Mustapha III., son of Achmet III., succeeds Osman III.; his character, 46; on his accession, declares his intention of completely changing the policy of the Porte and of taking an active part in the affairs of Europe, 46; in the affair of the Christian slaves carrying the flag-ship of the Turkish fleet into Malta, shows no gratitude to France for its good-will and generosity in having purchased the vessel from the Knights of Malta, and sent it with great pomp to Constantinople, 47; is infamously deceived by Catherine II. in the affairs of Poland; anxious to avenge himself upon Russia, but is helpless, owing to the condition of his armies and finances, 49; impressed by a memoir from the Duke de Choiseul touching the projects of Russia, he decides to favour the rising of the Poles, and to demand from the Czarina the evacuation of Poland; his Ministers refusing the confederated Poles an overt protection, demand the withdrawal of the Russians from Poland, but wink at their delays and excuses, 56; the counsels of France at length prevail with Mustapha, the Grand Vizier is changed and the war party takes possession of power, 58; the Grand Vizier, Hamsa Pacha, summons before him the Russian Ambassador Obreskoff, who, seeking to justify the massacre of Balta, is

reproved in strong terms by Hamsa and cited to sign a declaration to abstain from all further attempts against Polish liberty; Obreskoff refusing to sign is imprisoned in the Seven Towers, and war declared. The first reverses of the Ottoman army reveal that it was only a shadow of the armies of Solyman, and that it only retained, of the stimulants to action that formerly rendered it victorious, a fanaticism as base as it was sanguinary; artillery, fortifications, discipline, manœuvres—all were wanting; Mustapha seems stupefied at these revelations and determines to submit to De Tott, an adroit emissary, all the *matériel* of the Ottoman artillery; everything in the arsenal seemed to announce the approaching ruin of the Empire, 59; the Sultan irritated at the defection of the Moldavians and Wallachians threatens to reduce them to slavery, 63; the Russians capture Bender, Akerman and Ismail, and all the fortresses on the left bank of the Danube fall into their power; Azof opens its gates to the Muscovites; Georgia rises in rebellion; Daher, Pacha of Acre, and Ali Bey, chief of the Mamelukes, league with the Russians, and the Empire seems near its dismemberment, 64; after the disaster of Tchesmé, the Sultan solicits the Courts of Vienna and Versailles to enter into alliance to arrest the progress of the Russians; the Divan deliberates, but the Sultan alone is disposed to continue the war and to have recourse to France entirely; all the Ministers vote for peace, and secretly the mediation of Austria is requested; England offers in turn her mediation; but partiality for Russia is so manifest, that she experiences a refusal, 65; the Turks undergo fresh reverses, and the talk is already rife at Catherine's Court of going to Constantinople, 68; the Russians fail in their attempts upon Trebizonde and Georgia, their flotilla, badly handled, is unable to get out of the Sea of Azof; upon the Danube successes are divided, but in the Crimea, the Ottoman domination is completely reversed; at the instigation of Prussia and Austria an armistice is concluded at Giurgevo and a Congress opened at Fockshani; another Congress is held at Bucharest, and the Czarina sends thither her ultimatum, which the Divan rejects almost at the command of the Ulema; Mustapha earnestly desires peace, but irritated by the insolent pretensions of Catherine, he resolves to resume hostilities vigorously; the Russians sustain a first check at Rustchuk and fail equally before Silistria; they basely avenge themselves by massacring at Bazaradschik the women, old men and children; General Unger repulsed before Varna; fortune is not less favourable to the Turks in Syria and Egypt, 71; in the midst of these unhoped-for successes death surprises the Sultan, at the moment when Mustapha was about to place himself at the head of the army of the Danube; the character and trials of his reign; he leaves to his brother, Abdul Ahmed, a burthensome inheritance, 73.

Mustapha IV., son of Abdul Ahmed, too young at his father's death to ascend the throne, succeeds his uncle Selim III., deposed; confirms in their employments the Ministers whom the fury of the rebels had spared, sends back to the castles on the Bosphorus the Yamaks, who receive a gratification; scarcely enjoys the throne a year ere he is dethroned in an insurrection headed by Baraïctar, Pacha of Rustchuk, and flung into the same prison Selim III. had tenanted, 132; strangled by order of his half-brother, Mahmoud II., 135.

Nachimoff, the Russian admiral, destroys the Turkish fleet at Sinope, 205.

Nadir, lieutenant of Thamas Shah of Persia, overthrows Echref, who had usurped the power of Mir Mahmoud; invades the Ottoman frontiers, 19; under the title of Thamas-Kouli-Khan reigns as a sovereign over several provinces of Persia; marches upon Ispahan, deposes Thamas, declares himself Regent of the kingdom and summons the Turks to restore the territory just conceded to them; besieges Bagdad, but fails to take that city; in a terrible encounter with Topal Osman Pacha at Douldjeïlik on the Tigris, is wounded and hurried off the field by his routed army; the Ottoman army being almost annihilated between Baghawerd and Akhikendi, the Porte decides to negotiate, and its plenipotentiaries

sent to Tiflis are present at the coronation of Nadir Shah; the treaty fixes the boundaries of the two empires conformably to that of 1639, and strips the Ottomans of all their recent acquisitions, 20.

Nami, Grand Vizier of Mustapha II., endeavours to finish the work of Kupruli, but displeases the Ulema and Janissaries, who revolt and depose the Sultan, 2.

Napier, Admiral, wrests a treaty from Mehemet Ali, which reduces him to the possession of Egypt, and compels him to evacuate Syria, Arabia, and Candia, and deliver up the Ottoman fleet, 194; accompanied by a French squadron, he proceeds with the British fleet into the Baltic, and after the capture of Bomersund, the allied fleet quits the Baltic, 206.

Navarino, the allied fleets of England, France and Russia almost totally destroy the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the harbour of, 164.

Nelson, Admiral, the combined fleets sail under the command of, destined to reduce the Ionian islands and blockade Malta, 97; Sultan Selim testifies his gratitude to Nelson by presenting him with magnificent presents worth several thousand pounds; the Czar Paul also makes him costly gifts, 98.

Nesselrode, Count, Minister of Nicholas I., declares in a note that the Russian armies are about to enter the Danubian Principalities in order to occupy them until the Porte shall give its adhesion to the demands laid down by Prince Mentschikoff, 201.

Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, disputes the right of other Powers to intermeddle with his policy regarding Turkey, 161; signs a secret convention recognizing the new Greek State, but which was to pay yearly tribute to the Porte, 162; declares war against Turkey, and the Russians under Wittgenstein cross the Pruth, capture Braila and Ismail and march towards the Eastern Balkans; the submission of Matchin, which opens the passage of the Danube, Isaktchi, Tonitcha and Kustendje surrender almost without a struggle, and Varna is besieged; the Emperor goes to place himself at the head of his troops at Bazardjik; he next advances against Shumla, and occupies Eski Stamboul, which opens the route to Constantinople, but his army soon suffers from sickness and death, and a sortie of the Turks compels the abandonment of Eski Stamboul; the siege of Varna, however, is vigorously pushed on, and the Emperor animates the troops by his presence, 172-3; in the second campaign (1829), apprised of the intentions of Austria to procure peace for the Ottomans, he determines to march straight upon Constantinople, and Turkey is invaded by an army of 150,000 men, but only 14,000 reach Adrianople, dying of disease at such a rate that they could neither advance nor retreat; Russia is released from her perilous position by a fresh treaty, that of Adrianople, 176; the Czar's design against the "sick man"—proposes to the British Government a partition of the "sick man's" spoils; the offer rejected and then made to France with the like result, and the two western nations unite to oppose the designs of Nicholas, 203; dispute concerning the Holy Places; despatches Prince Menschikoff to demand the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey; his troops having crossed the Pruth, he issues a proclamation in which he announces that he did not intend to begin the war, but wished to have some security on which he could rely for the Divan's strict execution of the treaties, 204; the Emperor succeeds in uniting the whole of Europe against him, the Western Powers declare war against him, 205; his sudden and unexpected death, 208.

Nicholas, the Grand Duke, brother of Alexander II., of Russia, expresses his satisfaction to Ahmed Vefyk Pacha at the non-admission of the British fleet to the Bosphorus; announces the fact of the signature of the Treaty of San Stefano to the Czar, 251, striking scene at San Stefano on the Russian army defiling before him at the conclusion of peace, 252.

Obrenowitch Milosch, acknowledged supreme knes of all Servia, striving to destroy the feudality in vigour since the conquest, and profiting by the troubles that the reforms of Mahomet raised in Turkey, causes the districts of Kraina, Tserna, Ricka,

the two circuits of Krouchevatz, the country of the Drina, &c., to be ceded to him. But the cupidity of Milosch being excessive—he monopolizing the customs, raising the duties and possessing himself of the communal properties, &c., risings take place and force him to grant a charter of guarantees; at length a new constitution is imposed upon him by the Sultan which limits his power; invokes in vain the support of Russia and England, fruitlessly attempts a military movement and is compelled to abdicate; is replaced by his eldest son, Milan, who dies soon after, 196.

Omar Pacha repulses 25,000 Russians in an attack upon Eupatoria, 208.

Orloff, Count Alexis, his plans for the partition of Turkey and restoration of the Greeks to independence; concludes at Pisa a formal treaty with the Mainotes and other tribes of the Morea and Roumelia; fleets prepared at Cronstadt, Archangel and Revel, which under his conduct were to attempt the capture of Constantinople; the British Ministry approves the project, 61; the Mainotes rise, but no plan of a campaign being arranged, the whole degenerates into a marauding expedition and the Greeks are abandoned to their fate; a victory over the Turkish fleet off Scio, wholly due to the British officers, the honours and emoluments thereof fall to Orloff, who prevents them forcing the passage of the Dardanelles, 62.

Osman III., brother of Mahmoud I., drawn from retreat at 59 years old, brings to the throne an incapacity verging on imbecility. Inheriting from his ancestors only their cruelty, he begins by causing the death of three sons of Achmet III., the Grand Vizier Ali Pacha, accused of an understanding with them, meets with the same fate. In less than two years eight ministers succeed each other in that perilous post and are successively deposed or executed by the weak and capricious monarch; in the end, a clever man, Mohammed Raghib, receives the Seal of the Empire and keeps it until his death; his reign of only three years is merely marked by a terrible conflagration, which consumed two-thirds of the city of Constantinople and had a great number of victims.

Osman-Pasvan-Oglou, an *ayak* of Widdin, whose father having been unjustly beheaded, seeks refuge in the Balkans, and at the head of 10,000 Krachalis or brigands of Bulgaria, ravages the country, seizes upon Widdin, and levies contributions upon Wallachia; the Divan offers him its pardon and the restitution of his father's possessions, but he prefers the independence he was enjoying, declares himself inimical to the reforms then attempted by Selim III., and summons to his aid the Janissaries, of whom he becomes the patron and embodies in his guard those banished from Servia; places himself in open revolt and takes Orsova and Silistria, and threatens Belgrade: the Capudan-pacha Hussein, with 80,000 men, besieges the rebel in Widdin, but fails to obtain his submission; in the end, the Sultan treats with him, concedes to him the Pachalic he had usurped, and orders the Pacha of Belgrade to re-establish the Janissaries, 100; the latter, looking upon themselves as victors, practise every sort of exaction, and aided by Oglou, seize upon Belgrade and slay the Pacha. They then usurp all authority, exact the ninth of the crops and substitute themselves in the place of the Sipahis; the Sultan sends a command to the Janissaries to cease their tyranny, but they massacre all those Serbs likely to become chiefs of an insurrection, and Olgou for a long time engages in open rebellion against the Porte, 101.

Otho, son of King Louis of Bavaria, accepts the throne of Greece, and lands at Nauplia, 177.

Osman Pacha, Turkish general, while the garrison of Nicopolis is engaged in a feeble defence, marching to the relief of the place, sees the importance of the position, which the Russians had overlooked, and occupying Plevna with 36 battalions and 44 guns, at once begins the construction of defences which afterwards grow to the dimensions of a great fortress, 231; soon after his earthworks are begun, a brigade of infantry under General Schildner-Schuldner is sent to take the position, but instead of capturing it falls into a trap and is well nigh cut to pieces, 231; in spite of the remonstrances of General Krudner, the Grand Duke Michael

and Staff positively order a renewal of the assault on Plevna, now strongly fortified; the result of the terrible conflict is that the Russians are completely defeated with a loss of 8,000 killed and as many wounded, 232; Osman, with 25,000 men, makes a determined and well-sustained attack against the Russian left centre, holding a strongly fortified position, and in this perfectly useless sortie, after losing 3,000 men, is defeated and driven back by General Zotoff, 234; a series of desperate assaults by the Russian and Roumanian forces on the fortified positions of Osman Pacha ensues, until the Russian losses before Plevna amount to more than 12,000 men, and the Roumanians to 3,000, 235; the Russian staff determine once more to attack Osman Pacha on the Emperor's birthday, and repeated assaults are directed against the formidable defences, and the result of this great battle is the conviction that direct assaults on the fortified camp were wholly useless, and General Todleben begins regular approaches for the purpose of besieging Osman Pacha in form; so month after month this indecisive conflict goes on, 226; and Osman and his 50,000 men still defy the Muscovite hosts, 237; the skill of his engineers and the oversight of the Russian Generals cost the Czar fully 50,000 men in killed and wounded, and a delay of nearly five months, 238; at length Osman receives his last supplies from Sofia, Plevna is completely invested and its surrender becomes only a question of time; food and ammunition are well nigh exhausted and no relief comes; Osman states his case at a council of war, and it is resolved to make a desperate effort to break through the Russian lines, and on the night of Dec. 9, 1877, he sallies forth from Plevna, and after a hard-fought struggle the issue is decided against him; wounded in the leg, and his horse killed under him, he has no choice but to submit, and the conditions of capitulation are quickly settled, 241; description of the battle by an eye witness, 242-3-4.

Paskewitch, Russian general, by a skilful manœuvre puts to the rout successively the Seraskier of Erzeroum and the Pacha of Trebizonde; then crossing the Saganlouk mountains, after several combats, seizes upon Erzeroum, 174.

Paul, the Czar, makes Admiral Nelson valuable presents, 98.

Patrona Khalil, a Janissary, excites that corps to revolt against Ibrahim Pacha, Grand Vizier of Achmet III.; they demand that the Vizier, the Mufti, and the Capudan-pacha should be delivered up to them, who are put to death, and the Sultan acknowledges as Padischah his nephew Mahmoud I.; the capital and empire remain for some time in the power of Patrona until got rid of by treason, and assassinated in an ambush; his partizans rise in arms, but their insurrection is stifled in the blood of thousands, 19.

Peter *the Great* (Russia), possesses as yet only a barbarian State, without ports, armies, or finances; Sweden, Poland, and Turkey interdict from Russia an European existence; he intrigues throughout Greece, stirs up the peoples of Slav race, opposing secretly the influence of France over the Oriental Christians, and undermining the Ottoman Empire, 4; fortifies Azof and builds ships there; complains of the hospitality accorded to his enemy, Charles XII. of Sweden, by the Porte, and demands the extradition of Mazeppa, Hetman of the Cossacks, who had delivered up the Ukraine to Charles XII.; the Porte declares war on the appearance of a squadron in the Black Sea, with an embassy from the Czar, 5; Peter reckons in vain upon the artifices of his ambassador, Tolstoi, upon the corruption of the Viziers, the dilatoriness of the Divan, and the weakness of Achmet III.; his emissaries excite everywhere through Moldavia and Wallachia the inhabitants to revolt; the Hospodars nominated by the Porte are sold to Russia; he guarantees to the Moldo-Wallachians the exclusive exercise of the Greek religion, and enfranchisement from Turkish domination; a prophecy found in the tomb of Constantine, circulated at Jerusalem, announcing that the Turks would be driven out of Europe by the Russian nation; reckoning upon the revolt of all the peoples of the Greek religion, the Czar flatters himself that he is about to plant the Russian eagle upon the minarets of the Seraglio; at

the head of a formidable army, and bringing with him the celebrated captive of Marienburg, whom he had just acknowledged as his wife, he marches, surrounded by the pomp of his Court, to certain victory; urged by Charles XII. and the French Ambassador, Achmet III. declares war against the Czar, and imprisons Tolstoi in the Seven Towers, 6; Peter despatches a division under Scheremetoff to the Pruth, which he joins in the spring of 1711; on crossing that river finds that he has been completely deceived, and is soon compelled to retreat; is overtaken and hemmed in by the Turks; his imminent peril, unable to retreat or advance, 7; is extricated therefrom by the energy and intelligence of the Empress Catherine; in that moment of awful suspense the Czar displays his great qualities; signs the capitulation of the Pruth, 8; solicits modifications in the treaties of Falksen, Adrianople, and Constantinople, and obtains a new treaty containing two remarkable articles—the one relating to Poland, the other to the Holy Places, 14; Peter continues, covertly, his enterprises against Sweden and Poland, and attempts to break the old amity existing between France and Turkey; the effect of the Czar's visit to the Court of Louis XV. in its relation to the Porte, 16; the war between Russia and Sweden terminated by the Treaty of Nystadt; profits by the civil war in Persia to seize upon the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea, 17.

Petrovitch, Georges, called *Czerni-Georges*, or Black George, a former Heyduke, is elected by the Serbs as their supreme chief to lead them against the insurgent Janissaries, 101; scarcely invested with authority ere he attacks and captures Belgrade, whilst two of his lieutenants take Czabatz and Semendria, 102; the Pacha of Bosnia and Albania having entered Servia and enveloped everything in blood and fire, Czerni-Georges collects 15,000 men, defeats the two pachas separately, and finally achieves a complete victory over them at Czabatz, 110; seizes upon Belgrade and besieges Soliman Pacha in the citadel, who capitulates, but is massacred with his followers at some leagues from the city; this becomes the signal for the expulsion, spoliation, or massacre of all the Turks, the Serbs giving themselves up to horrible vengeance against their ancient masters; Servia then becomes a vast field in which numerous military chiefs or voïvodes act independently and share between themselves the property of the Turks; Czerni-Georges dominates in Schumadia; Servia, delivered from Ottoman rule, is abandoned to anarchy; to put an end to this, Georges addresses himself unsuccessfully to the Governor of the Illyrian provinces in order to offer to Napoleon the protectorate of the Slavs of Turkey; the Czar Alexander promises them his support if they would accept the Russian protectorate with a Fanariote prince, 140; the Serbs, led by Milosch and Dobriniatz, attack the Turks from the side of Nissa, whilst Czerni-Georges enters Bosnia and besieges Novi-Bazaar; the two first are defeated and Georges evacuates Bosnia; Servia seems lost, the Pacha of Nissa ravaging that country with 30,000 men, Georges succeeds in repulsing him and snatches from the Bosniacs a splendid victory; the Turks re-cross the Drina, which becomes the boundary of Servia and Bosnia; this victory obtains for Georges decrees from the Senate, giving him supreme authority over all the voïvodes, and he formulates in a kind of constitution the liberties and privileges of the Serbs; all his opposers are banished and several risings stifled by main force; the Pacha of Nissa offers to get Georges recognized by the Sultan as Prince of the country on the condition that he repudiates the protectorate of Russia; Georges, unwilling to treat without the Czar's consent, sends the Pacha's propositions to the Russian general and is badly rewarded for his good faith shortly afterwards in the Treaty of Bucharest, 111; the Serbs, refusing to recognize that treaty, prepare for resistance, and Georges issues a spirited proclamation; the Serbs, however, experience only defeats and he flees into Hungary and thence into Russia, whilst the Turks become masters of Servia; more than 300 Serbs are impaled or decapitated at Belgrade; this bringing about a revolt, Milosch Obrenovitch, brother-in-law of Czerni-Georges, calls the people to arms, and the Turks are driven from their positions, 142; and Milosch

governs Servia almost as an absolute monarch; on the establishment of the *Hetæria* in 1817, Czerni-Georges, then living in retirement at Kiev, directs his steps secretly towards Servia, with the object of procuring the revolt of that country; but on arriving upon Servian territory is assassinated by the emissaries of Milosch and his head sent to Constantinople; Milosch, in recompense, is acknowledged Prince or Knès superior of Servia, and Russia hastens to disavow the projects of Czerni-Georges, 148.

Plevna, the battles fought before, and siege of, 231.

Poniatowski, Count, assists Charles XII. (Sweden) in inciting the Porte to hostilities against Russia; they succeed in their efforts, and Achmet III. declares war against the Czar, 6; despatches a messenger from the Turkish camp to Charles XII., summoning him to behold the consummation of the Czar's ruin, 9; in conjunction with Charles XII. and the Khan of Tartary the ruin of the Vizier Baltadschi is effected, 10; Poniatowski is imposed upon the Poles by Russian bayonets, 49.

Potemkin, Prince, favourite and Minister of Catherine II. (Russia), his designs against the Crimea; compels the Porte to restore the Khan Gheraï, 82; is dignified with the pompous title of the *Tauricus* and made Governor of the conquered provinces and Grand-Admiral of the Black Sea, 84; crosses the Bog and invests Oczakof; the Turkish fleet totally destroyed, and Oczakof captured and put to sack with savage fury, the victors giving no quarter and massacring more than 25,000 of the inhabitants, 89; in next campaign captures Kilia Nova, 92; conducts, unwillingly, negotiations for peace at Jassy, in hopes of obtaining Moldavia and Wallachia for himself as an independent Principality; is seized with a malignant fever and dies on his road homewards in the arms of his niece, the Countess Branicka, 93.

Radetzsky, Russian general, takes the Shipka Pass, defended by a Turkish army of forty-one battalions, ten batteries of artillery, and one regiment of cavalry; and Generals Mirsky and Scobeleff having penetrated the Balkans by the Trojan Pass, the Turks are enclosed between two armies; the Porte, terrified, instructs the general in the field to conclude an armistice, 249.

Ragoczy, leader of malcontent Hungarians, aims at obtaining the principality of Transylvania, and even the title of King of Hungary; incited by the agents of the Porte to insurrection against Austria, 13.

Repnin, Prince, succeeds Romanzoff in command of the Russian army in the Ukraine, and defeats the Turks on their crossing the Danube at Ismail, 91; preliminaries of peace are signed between Repnin and the Grand Vizier at Galatz, 93.

Reschid Pacha, Grand Vizier, in order to relieve Silistria besieged by Diebitch, defeats General Roth and invests Pravadi; on learning this, Diebitch goes to the succour of Roth, with whom he forms a junction, and obtains at Kaleschwa a sanguinary victory over Reschid, who re-enters Shumla, 173; Diebitch having crossed the Kamtchik, Reschid abandons Shumla, crosses in his turn the Balkan, and reaches Selivno, and there experiences a fresh defeat, 174.

Romanzoff, commander of the Russian army, after defeating the Turks on the Larga, gains a decisive victory over them near Cahoul, 64; seconded by Souvaroff and Kramenski, having forced the Danube, succeeds in turning the front of the Ottoman army and separating it from Varna, which contains all its magazines, upon which a panic seizes upon the Turks, 74; Romanzoff and the Prince of Saxe Coburg capture Choczim, 89; is succeeded in the command of the Russian army by Prince Repnin, 91.

Ruffin, French *chargé d'affaires*, at the news of Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt finds himself in a most critical position at Constantinople; tries at first to deny the expedition, then to explain it, but is not listened to; is flung into the Seven Towers and war declared against France, 96.

Saint-Priest, M. de, succeeds M. de Vergennes as ambassador at the Porte; instructions given him by the Duke de Choiseul, 56; they are supplemented by the secret correspondence of Louis XV., 58; the Divan

carefully conceals from the ambassador the steps it was taking to obtain peace with Russia; suspecting the weakness of the Turkish Ministers, M. de Saint-Priest neglects nothing to reanimate their courage to get rid of a humiliating peace; whilst awaiting the precise answer of Choiseul, he strives to enlighten them upon the true cause of their defeats; Choiseul orders him "to pass from active hostility against the Russians to inertness, without discouraging the Turks from their efforts in behalf of the Poles," 66; Saint-Priest gives a wide development to French commerce in the Levant by establishing between the ports of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean relations that had not existed until then, save between Constantinople and the Archipelago, 77; is succeeded in 1784 by Choiseul Gouffier, 85.

Salisbury, Marquis of, whilst acting as one of the representatives of England at the Berlin Congress, suddenly and without warning there appears in the *Globe* newspaper the text of a secret Anglo-Russian agreement, signed on May 30, at the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff; the British Government engaging, subject to the points, ten in number, "not to dispute the articles of the preliminary Treaty of San Stefano;" fresh modifications might be proposed in Congress by common consent, but failing them, "the present memorandum is a mutual agreement in Congress for the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain," 251-5.

Schildner-Schuldner, Russian general, sent from Nicopolis with a brigade of infantry to capture Plevna, instead of taking the town falls into a trap, and his force is well-nigh cut to pieces, 231.

Sebastiani, French colonel and ambassador, endeavours to incite Selim III. against the English and Russians; at his instance the Sultan, hurried away, deposes the Princes Ypsilanti and Morusi, 111; denounces the perfidy of Russia in keeping possession of the Ionian islands; calls upon the Porte to close the Bosphorus against all Russian and English ships of war; the demand of the French Ambassador is acquiesced in, 112; puts Constantinople into such a posture of defence as to accelerate the retreat of Sir John Duckworth, 116; Sebastiani decides the Sultan to offer resistance to the English fleet, 119, and is charged with preparing and directing it; he renders the city inaccessible, 120, and Duckworth decides to retreat; Sebastiani receives publicly the Sultan's thanks, and is decorated with the Order of the Crescent, 121; after the deposition of Selim III. and notwithstanding the stipulations of Tilsit, he resumes the influence he had under that Sultan, and makes his will prevail in the councils of the Porte; but, his position having become embarrassing, he demands and obtains his recall, 130.

Selim III., son of Mustapha III., succeeds his uncle Abdul Ahmed; resolves to prosecute the war against Austria, and commands all the "Faithful" between sixteen and sixty to take up arms; acts with more zeal than discretion, and loses more hearts than he gains; wishes to take command of his armies, but is prevented by the Divan, 90; his exasperation at Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt, 96; which gives rise to an alliance between Russia and the Porte; visits the Russian fleet in the Dardanelles; for the first and perhaps for the last time the Russian flag waves in union with the Crescent, 97; testifies his gratitude to Nelson by magnificent presents, 98; deposes the voïvodes of Moldavia and Wallachia, 111; and is himself deposed by an insurrection of the Yamaks and Janissaries, and strangled by order of Mustapha IV., 131.

Server Pacha, early in Jan., 1878, makes a statement to the Chamber of Deputies "that every effort had been made by the Government to interest the European Powers in the fate of Turkey, but in vain; she was completely isolated, and therefore it was necessary for her to determine alone how she could best bring the war to a close; the terms of an armistice were agreed upon and the Russian reply was of a conciliatory character;" a Ministerial crisis follows, the Turkish Ministry resigns, and a new Cabinet is constituted, with Hamdi Pacha as Grand Vizier, and Server Pacha as Minister for Foreign Affairs, 249.

Sinope, destruction of the Turkish fleet by Admiral Nakimof, at, 205.

Skobeleff, Russian general, the

young and brilliant hero of Nicopolis, supports Prince Meretinsky in the capture of Loftcha, 234; the successful dash at Loftcha is followed by a series of desperate assaults by the Russians on the fortified positions at Plevna, and Skobeleff captures three redoubts, but with heavy loss, and they are retaken next day, 235; with General Mirsky, he penetrates the Balkans by the Trojan Pass and occupies Kezanlik, enclosing the Turks between two armies, the Porte terrified and disorganized, instructs the general in the field to conclude an armistice, 249.

Soutzo, Michael, Hospodar of Moldavia, on the appeal of Ypsilanti to join Hellas in its struggle for liberty, resigns his authority into the hands of the Hetæria, and enrols himself under the banner of independence, 150: on the Russian Consul protesting against the enterprize, Soutzo is driven out of Jassy by the Moldavian boyards, 151.

Suvaroff, Russian general, defeats Gazi Hassan, commander of the vanguard of the Turkish army at Focshani; the Grand Vizier, desirous of avenging that defeat, attacks the Austrian army, but the sudden arrival of Suvaroff upsets that plan, and the Turks lose, at Rimnik, 22,000 men, sixty guns and all their siege artillery and munitions, 91; assists at the capture of Kilia Nova; but his grand exploit is the taking of Ismail by assault, not without great loss, but his victory is stained by the horrible butchery which the Russians committed, 92.

Stanislaus, King of Poland, arrives at Bender to mediate a peace between Charles XII., and Augustus of Poland, by resigning the crown, 10; his intentions frustrated by a treaty concluded between the Porte and Augustus, II., 11.

Stephano, the monk, an agent of Catherine II. (Russia), by means of the religious propaganda prepares the way for the Russian invasion in Servia and Croatia; animated by his harangues, his charity, and his liberality, the Christians of Albania, Servia, and Montenegro rise in arms, but the insurrection is stamped out by the Janissaries, 50.

Suleiman Pacha, Turkish general, through the jealousies of the Government is transferred from Montenegro to Roumelia with an independent command, which produces its natural result in want of concert and failure of reciprocal support, 232; defeats General Gourko's force at Eski Sagra (Feb. 15, 1877), drives back the Russians to the mountains and assails their fortified positions in the Shipka Pass in a series of sanguinary conflicts, to which the war had hitherto furnished no parallel; in these he loses more than 12,000 of his best men by dashing them against fortifications that probably might have been turned; renews his assaults on Mont St. Nicholas, only to see his troops hurled back with heavy loss, 235; is driven by Gourko over the Despoto Dagh and down to Kavola, while the panic in Constantinople is described as deplorable, 249.

Syria, a vast number of Maronite Christians massacred by the Druses in, 214.

Talleyrand, Prince (Bishop of Autun), is desirous, since the defeat of Austria by France that conditions should be imposed upon the Porte which should leave it its grandeur, but by making of it a Power entirely slavish and oriental, by taking away its Germanic provinces and giving it in exchange Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bosnia, making of it an eternal enemy of Russia, and consequently a natural ally of France, 107.

Thamas, Shah of Persia, after Echref causes his cousin Mir Mahmoud to be strangled, and seizes upon his power, his rival Thamas offers to the Porte the sovereignty of the provinces it had occupied, 18; the Porte treats with him, but Echref, in the ascendant, demands peace, accedes to the conditions proposed by his competitor, and is recognized as legitimate sovereign of Iran; speedily overthrown by Nadir, lieutenant of Thamas, and the latter having re-entered Ispahan, Nadir invades the Ottoman frontiers. The Porte having resumed the war against Persia, Thamas undergoes numerous reverses, and is constrained to sue for peace, 19; Nadir protests loudly against the conclusion of peace, marches upon Ispahan, deposes Thamas, and declares himself Regent of the kingdom, and summons the Turks to restore the territory and towns

which the treaty had just conceded to them, 20.

Todleben, Russian general; the Czar's troops being defeated in a great battle fought before Plevna on his birthday, establishes a conviction that direct assaults on the fortified camp were wholly useless, and the famous engineer, Todleben, is invited to undertake the reduction of Plevna, who at once begins regular approaches, while preparations are made for a complete investment, 236; by the middle of November it is completely invested; Osman Pacha is compelled to retreat, and on the 10th December Plevna falls, 241.

Tolstoi, ambassador of Peter *the Great* to the Porte, his artifices in corrupting the Viziers and securing partizans in the States of the Sultan; his emissaries, traversing secretly Moldavia and Wallachia, excite everywhere the people to revolt; the Hospodars of those provinces are sold to Russia; a proclamation of the Czar guarantees to the Moldo-Wallachians the exclusive exercise of the Greek religion and enfranchisement from Turkish domination, 6; on the Sultan, Achmet III., declaring war against the Czar, he imprisons Tolstoi in the Seven Towers, 7.

Topal-Osman Pacha, Turkish general, having come to the succour of Bagdad, besieged by the Persian pretender, Nadir (under the title of Thamas Koulikhan), a terrible encounter takes place upon the Tigris at Douldjeïlik, and Nadir, wounded, is hurried off the field by his routed army; Topal-Osman snatches a fresh victory near Leïtam; lastly, is in turn defeated, and perishes upon the field of battle; his death proves a public misfortune for the Turks, who experience a continuous series of checks, and the Ottoman army is almost annihilated near Baghawerd, 20.

Tott, Baron de, an Hungarian gentleman, a refugee in France, despatched by Villeneuve to the Tartar Khan to incite him to invade the Ukraine for the enforcement of the tribute paid by the Russians, 21; his discussion with the Grand Vizier touching a disadvantageous peace with Austria, 25.

Tott, Baron de, son of the above, an officer of engineers, on the reverses experienced by the Ottoman army in the campaign of 1769 against Russia, De Tott strives to enlighten the Divan on the causes thereof, and addresses several memoirs to the Sultan with that view; Mustapha III. seems stupified at those revelations of the deplorable condition of his armaments, and after much hesitation determines to submit publicly to the inspection of De Tott all the *matériel* of the Ottoman artillery; the astonishment of the latter on entering the arsenal at Constantinople—all seemed to announce the approaching ruin of that Empire, 59; having offered the Divan to proceed to the Dardanelles, his services are accepted; all the shipwrights that French commerce had brought to Constantinople are employed in the construction of additional defences, and in a few weeks the passage is rendered inexpugnable, and the Russian fleet, after a long and useless lingering at Lemnos, sails from the Mediterranean, 63; the French ambassador, Saint-Priest, seconds with all his influence the fresh efforts made by De Tott, and obtains the establishment of a school of gunnery under that young foreigner; "the terror was such," he himself relates, "that public prayers were offered up for the success of my labours," 66.

Turkey in Europe, Asia, and Africa, description of, 260.

Vienna, treaty of (1725), concluded between Russia and Austria against Turkey, its principal condition—kept secret down to the present time—by which those two Powers bound themselves in perpetuity to unite their armies against the Porte, and not make a separate peace, 18.

Villeneuve, Marquis de, French ambassador, a minister full of talent and activity, explains to the Grand Vizier the situation of Europe and the necessity for the Porte to return to the policy of Charles XII.; whereupon the Vizier addresses a protestation to the two Imperial Courts against the entrance of the Russians into Poland, and demands with threats the execution of the Treaty of Constantinople; despatches the Baron de Tott to the Tartar Khan, who incites him to invade the Ukraine to enforce tribute from the Russians, 21; is ordered by Cardinal Fleury to incite the Turks to enter Hungary, 23; is next directed

to use every exertion to procure peace for the Turks, to prevent the Russians obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea, 24; Catherine II. accepts through him the mediation of France for the conclusion of a peace between the Porte and Russia, 26; stipulations of the Treaty of Belgrade, 27; the Russian ambassador strives to break the treaty existing between France and Sweden by corrupting the French ambassador, but the Czarina's presents effect no change in Villeneuve's policy, and the treaty is maintained; he profits by the all-powerful influence he enjoys with the Divan to demand the renewal of the capitulations, which Sultan Mahmoud hastens to satisfy, and they become a formal treaty of friendship and commerce, 28; Villeneuve resigns the Constantinople embassy, and is succeeded by the Marquis of Castellane, 30.

Wellington, Duke of, sent by England to St. Petersburg with a view to the determination of the Greek question, succeeds in signing a protocol, stipulating that the two Cabinets should unite their efforts to reconcile the Greeks with the Porte, and put an end to the struggle of which the Archipelago was the theatre; Greece to remain a dependence of the Ottoman Empire, and pay an annual tribute; the Cabinets of Paris, Berlin and Vienna show themselves at first offended at the secrecy kept towards them, but end by signing it, 162.

Yamaks, revolt of the (*Yamaks-tabiélis*, or battery assistants), through the intrigues of Mustapha Pacha, the Caimacan, opposed to the reforms introduced into the Empire by Sultan Selim in the dress and usages of the army; at the sight of the new uniforms the Yamaks murmur, and from murmurs soon pass to revolt, 125; they elect a chief with the power of life or death, one Cabakchy Oglou, and are joined by 800 Janissaries and 200 sailors, who encamp upon the Atmeïdan, where Oglou reads a list of proscriptions upon which figure, in the first line, the counsellors and ministers of the Sultan, seventeen of whose heads soon appear in a row before the tribunal of the chief of the revolt, 126; with the sanction of the hypocritical Mufti, Selim III. is deposed, and is succeeded by Mustapha IV., 127.

Ypsilanti, Alexander, aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, at the head of the Hetæria, to which he had devoted the whole of his fortune in the work of Greek emancipation; at the outburst of the insurrection in the North, he repairs to Jassy, where he summons the Hellenes in a spirited proclamation, 150; leaving to Michael Soutzo, Hospodar of Moldavia, the direction of the movement, he passes into Wallachia, and there forms the *Sacred Battalion*; shortly after the protest of the Russian Consul at Bucharest against the enterprise, an ukase of the Czar deprives Ypsilanti of his rank, 151; finding himself abandoned by Russia he loses courage and retires near Rimnik; is attacked by the Turks and defeated, when the *Sacred Battalion*, 1,200 strong, falling to a man, the remainder of the insurgents flee, and Ypsilanti seeks refuge upon Austrian territory, and is shut up in the citadel of Munkacz, 152.

Yousouf Pacha, Governor of Varna, whilst that place is besieged by the Russians, animated by the presence of the Emperor, though revictualled and succoured by the Grand Vizier with a corps of 20,000 men, is surrendered by Yousouf, or, more correctly speaking, sold to the enemy; the traitor is condemned to death, but he retires to Russia to live in opulence, 173.

Zotoff, Russian general, defeats Osman Pacha in a determined and well-sustained attack on a strongly fortified position around the villages of Pelisat and Zgalince, and is driven back with the loss of 3,000 men, 235.

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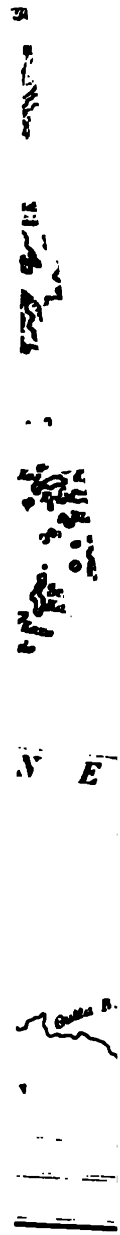

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